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The Sources of Longfellow's Hiawatha

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THE SOURCES OF LONGFELLOW'S HIAWATHA

BY

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THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

Gra J. Berkema

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The Sources of Longfellow's Hawatha

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Master of Arts

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THE SOURCES OF LONGFELLOW'S HIAWATHA

INTRODUCTION

The publication of Longfellow's Hiawatha, in the fall of 1855, caused a great stir in the literary world, both in America and in Europe. By many critics the poet was accused of plagiarism; by others he was "hailed the American Singer of an American Song".¹ The purpose of this investigation is to examine these criticisms and to set forth the actual sources of Hiawatha. In no wise shall we attempt to criticize Longfellow for using the Indian myths and legends that have been collected by Schoolcraft and Heckewelder, for adopting the metre used by the authors of the Kalevala. On the other hand, we shall not try to justify him in his use of these materials.

So much has been written about this great American epic that it seems that this study may be but another futile attempt at the real solution of the problem before us, arriving at the same general conclusion that all previous critics have reached, namely, that the content of Hiawatha came from the old Indian legends and myths, that the metre is the same as used by Topelius and Lönnrot in their Finnish epic. Yet, scarcely has any one presented any definite information concerning the marked resemblances between Longfellow's work and the originals from which he is said to have borrowed. To supply this apparently inadequate knowledge, then, is the major burden of this investigation.

1. Bogue, Athenaeum, 1888, P. 1205.

Before we go into the actual discussion of the sources it may be well to note some of the more characteristic criticisms, favorable and disparaging, that have been heaped upon Longfellow and his poem. At the outset we see two vast extremes of critics, each class feeling perfectly sure of its ground. One of these extremes, that of the unfavorable type, is noted in the lines of an eminent Frenchman, when he says, "Longfellow's works resemble those of an emigrant. He imitates all the poets of the older countries; he translates a great deal, and his poems are all echoes."² This statement, coming from a foreigner, perhaps means little to us. Montegu did not get the right perspective of our poet and his production. He judged Longfellow by the standard of American poetry, which had, at that time, not yet reached its high and proper place in the world's literature. Even Margaret Fuller, in an article in the Dial, told Mr. Longfellow that he had not yet produced anything that was really American in tone and color, that his poems were like exoted flowers, with no odor of the American soil about them.³ This caustic remark, however, was made prior to the creation of his Indian Edda. Undoubtedly, the suggestion of Margaret Fuller spurred him on to labor more zealously to compose something that could be styled distinctively American. The results of such endeavor were Evangeline, Miles Standish, Kavanagh, and Hiawatha.

Margaret Fuller, after reading this Indian poem, may have changed her mind about Longfellow's works, but Edward Everett was still unconvinced as to his ability to write genuine poetry. He continued to think that Longfellow was yet knocking at

2. Montegu, Putnam, VI, 581.

3. Robertson, Eric S., H. W. Longfellow, London, 1887, 140.

the door of the really great, still forbidden to enter because of his lack of originality. "Longfellow is a plagiarist, not one who boldly steals and calls it his own, but his is another kind of theft, which is that of the bee."⁴ Continuing this attack of Longfellow Everett says, "He is given to servile reproduction of other men's works; he is not an imitator of the style of other men. Whatever he takes he moulds, and his conquests become integral parts of his dominion."⁵ On the other hand, he admits that our poet is always simple, true, and, in the best sense of the word, national in the spirit of his poetry. Longfellow may have been fond of choosing foreign subjects, yet his fervor and glow are those of a typical American.

The charge of plagiarism had been made against him several years prior to the publication of Hiawatha. In the year 1845 took place the "Longfellow War", waged chiefly by Poe and the friends of Longfellow. In various articles Poe bitterly assailed the honesty of his contemporary, accusing him of plagiarism,* because Longfellow had taken from an inferior author's work those materials which he later made over into such poems as Hyperion and Autumn. In the Marginalia Poe, having Longfellow in mind, writes, "It is impossible, we should think, to imagine a more sickening spectacle than that of the plagiarist who walks among mankind with an erecter step, and who feels his breast

*What constitutes plagiarism is a very difficult matter to decide. Perhaps Poe's conception of it is not far amiss when he writes, "What the poet intensely admires becomes thus, in the very fact, although only partially, a portion of his intellect."

4. Edward Everett, Putnam, VI, 580.

5. Everett, Putnam, VI, 580.

beat with a prouder impulse, on account of plaudits which he is conscious are the due of another."⁶ Elsewhere Poe makes this bold assertion, "He is the most audacious imitator in America."⁶

These views of Longfellow's productions have not been accepted by all critics. In fact, the pendulum has tended to swing to the opposite extreme. With most authorities Hiawatha was not a work of plagiarism, but a work of art, a poem of originality, showing clearly the labor of an American craftsman in an American workshop, using American materials. One of these writers calls Hiawatha the "first permanent contribution to the world's belles-lettres made from Indian authorities. Here is the first poem which savors of the prairie or of the mountains. Hitherto, we have had a great many mock Indians, like the Indians of the stage."⁷

This view of the poem appears somewhat too exalted, too extravagant. To me this epic seems hardly more than a well-devised, well-arranged poem, setting forth, in the unrimed trochaic metre of the old romance ballads, used by Calderon, Lope de Vega, and the authors of the Kalevala, the picture of Indian life and customs as recorded in the collections of Schoolcraft and his contemporaries. Yet the editor of the North American Review was scarcely more fervent in his praise of the poem than was the English critic and editor, Bogue. "We have now an American Song by an American Singer. Buried cities-vanishing races-forests, lakes, mountains, and waterfalls-all are there. Hiawatha is one of the most romantic tales on record. The author has

It has a secondary originality altogether apart, although springing from primary origination without. The poet is thus possessed

6. Underwood, Francis H., H. W. Longfellow, Pp.126-127.

7. North American Review, LXXXII, 274.

taken for his theme an Indian legend. The tale itself is beautiful, fanciful, and new. The Song moves throughout in this beautiful and simple measure, as

'In his lodge beside a river,
Close beside a frozen river,
Sat an old man, sad and lonely.
White his hair was as a snow-drift;
Dull and low his fire was burning,
And the old man shook and trembled,
Folded in his Waubewyen,
In his tattered white-skin wrapper,
Hearing nothing but the tempest
As it roared along the forest,
Seeing nothing but the snow-storm,
As it whirled and hissed and drifted.'

His verse, too, is sweet and simple, is full of local color, has a natural tone and a ring of its own: in a word, the story of Hiawatha is the poet's most original production."⁸

Incidentally, it may be interesting to note how Palfrey compares Longfellow's poem with Schoolcraft's Algic Researches. He says, "As to traditionary legends, the beautiful verse of Longfellow's creation does but robe their beggarly meanness in cloth of gold. Of what they owe to that exquisite poet is easy to satisfy one's self by collating the raw material of his work, as it stands in such authorities as Heckewelder

by another's thought, and cannot be said to take it, possession. But, in either view, he thoroughly feels it as his own-and this feeling is counteracted by the sensible presence of its true,

8. Bogue, Athenaeum, 1885, P. 1295.

and Schoolcraft. The results of the Algie Researches are a collection of the most vapid and stupid compositions that ever disappointed a laborious curiosity; but they were the best collection that, under the most favorable circumstances, was to be made in that quarter. Yet even of such poor products as these the mind of the native of New England was barren."⁹

Much that has been said about the original sources of the poem thus far is pretty nearly conjectural, based, for the most part, on what critics have written. At this point let us look into Longfellow's Journal and see if we can get any light on the actual sources of the poem. June 5, 1854, Longfellow made this entry, "I am reading with delight the Finnish Epic, Kalevala. It is charming."¹⁰ On the 22d of that month he writes, "I have at length hit upon a plan for a poem on the American Indians, which seems to me the right one, and the only. It is to weave together their beautiful traditions into a whole. I have hit upon a measure, too, which I think the right and only one for such a theme."¹¹ June 25th he writes this; "I could not help this evening making a beginning of Manabozho, or whatever the poem is to be called. His adventures will form the theme, at all events."¹² The entry for the 26th is; "Look over Schoolcraft's great book on the Indians. Three huge quartos, ill-digested, and without any index. Write a few lines of the poem."¹³

palpable origin in the volume from which he has derived it—an origin which, in the long lapse of years, is forgotten. But the frailest association will regenerate it—it springs up with all the vigor of a new birth—its absolute originality is not even a

9. Palfrey, History of New England, quoted by Underwood, in H.W. Longfellow, P. 168.

10, 11, 12, Longfellow, Samuel, Life and Journal of H.W. Longfellow, II, 273-274.

13. Longfellow, Samuel, Life and Journal of H.W. Longfellow, II, 275

June 28th he writes, "Work at Manabozho, or, as I think I shall call it, Hiawatha, that being another name for the same personage."¹⁴ July 31st Longfellow entered this in his Journal, "Worked at Manabozho-as I do more or less every day. It is purely in the realm of fancy. After tea, read to the boys the Indian story of the Red Swan."¹⁵ Sept. 19th he enters, "The Indian summer is beginning early. A charming tradition in the mythology of the Indians, that this soft, hazy weather is made by the passionate sighs of Shawondasee, the South."¹⁶ Oct. 20 he writes, "Writing away at Heckwelder, Tanner, and other sundry books about the Indians. Worked at the disentanglement of the Indian legends."¹⁷

In a letter to Ferdinand Freiligrath, April 25, 1855, Longfellow writes, "I have two volumes of poems ready for the press, and both will probably be published before the year is out. One is a collection of lyrics; the other a long poem, a narrative based upon Indian legends- the hero, a kind of American Prometheus."¹⁸ In another letter, written, while the poem was causing such a turmoil, to Charles Sumner, Dec. 3, 1855, Longfellow says, "As to my having 'taken many of the most striking incidents of the Finnish Epic and transferred them to the American Indians' it is absurd. I can give chapter and verse for

matter of suspicion-and when the poet has written it and printed it, and on its account is charged with plagiarism, there will be no one in the world more astonished than himself."Poe,Works, Va. Ed. XII, 14.

14. Longfellow, Samuel, Life and Journal of H.W. Longfellow, II, 276

15, 16, 17. Longfellow, Samuel, H. W. Longfellow, II, 277.

18. Op. Tit. II, 286.

these legends. Their chief value is that they are Indian legends. I know the Kalevala very well; and that some of the legends resemble the Indian stories preserved by Schoolcraft is very true."¹⁹

Much of this same rather indefinite information is seen in the notes Longfellow prepared for the first edition of his poem. In these notes the author stated, "This Indian Edda- if I may so call it- is founded on a tradition, prevalent among the North American Indians, of a personage of miraculous birth, who was sent among them to clear their rivers, forests, and fishing-grounds, and to teach them the arts of peace. He was known among different tribes by the several names of Michabou, Chiabo, Tarenywagon, and Hiawatha. Mr. Schoolcraft gives an account of him in his Algic Researches, Vol. I, P.134; and in the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, Part III, P. 314 may be found the Iroquois form of the tradition, derived from the verbal narratives of an Onondaga chief. Into this old tradition I have woven other curious Indian legends, drawn chiefly from the various and valuable writings of Mr. Schoolcraft. The scene of the poem is among the Ojibways on the southern shore of Lake Superior, in the region between the Pictured Rocks and the Grand Sable."²⁰

Thus we see that Longfellow, for the most part at least, has based his Hiawatha upon the Indian narratives brought together by Schoolcraft, Tanner, Heckewelder, and others. The editor of one of the Riverside texts adds that Longfellow had

19. Op. Tic.II, 297.

20. Riverside Edition of Longfellow's Poems, Boston, 1905, P.158.

for some time felt a great interest in the Indians. "In his early plans for prose sketches, tales about the Indians had a great place. He had seen a few of the straggling remainder of the Algonquins in Maine, and had read Heckewelder while in college; had witnessed the display of the big chief, Black Hawk, and his Sacs and Foxes on the Boston Common; and, a few years before, had made the acquaintance of the fine-tempered Kah-ga-gah-bowh, the Ojibway chief, and had entertained him at his house, trusting not unlikely that he might derive from the Indian some helpful suggestion."²¹

After all that has been said, the facts in the case seem to indicate that the poet's primary sources, as yet rather indefinite, were Schoolcraft's Algic Researches and The Indian Tribes of the United States. "There he hit upon a rude hero named Manabozho, and by this name he first thought of calling his Indian Edda. Some of the incidents of Indian life preserved in the Algic Researches reminded the well-read poet of the Finnish legends, and turning to the great Epic of Finland- the Kalevala- he at once found a solution of the problem, how to adapt his language and metre to subjects so primitive as these Indian myths."²²

Much of the criticism that has been heaped upon Hiawatha has been due, I think, to some error on the part of these critics. In the first place, several authorities have failed to see in Hiawatha the blending of several Indian legends and

21. Riverside Edition of Longfellow's Poems, Boston, 1901, Pp.5-6.

22. Robertson, Eric S., H. W. Longfellow, P.141.

Indian characters into the one poem. At the outset of his epic the poet stated that into the old tradition of the original Hia-watha he had "woven other curious Indian legends." In spite of this assertion on the part of Longfellow, Beauchamp, in an article in the American Folk-Lore Journal, contends that the original Hiawatha tale is an Onondaga one, and known only about fifty years, while Longfellow, he maintains, "has appropriated the name Hiawatha for his beautiful poem, a gain to all readers, but, as he retained little beyond the same, it may be needless to refer to that charming work. The poem, however, preserves the leading thought;

'How he prayed, and how he fasted,
How he lived, and toiled, and suffered,
That the tribes of men might prosper,
That he might advance his people!'"²³

In somewhat the same tone does DeCosta, when discussing this poem, speak. "The version of the Indian legends which Mr. Longfellow has followed comes from every quarter of North America, and is marked by all that is puerile, extravagant, and ridiculous; and therefore, we have a version which is the product of the Iroquois mind, and thus characterized by the same degree of superiority that must be confessed as attending the thoughts of the Confederacy. Longfellow's version of Hiawatha is free from all that is puerile, low, sensual, and absurd, and commands respect by its dignity, consistency, and general effect. The style of the narrative is comprehensive, the content brief. Hiawatha's religious character is everywhere overstated. Hiawatha's fasting in Longfellow's pages is one thing, and his fasting

23. Beauchamp, W. M., American Folk-Lore Journal, IV, 215.

in the legend is another. In the one he is rigidly devout; in the other he is overflowing with characteristic mischief and fun, stealing jovially away from his secluded praying-lodge, to watch his grandmother, who, in the absence of the boy, entertains a huge bear. But the legend quoted in the verses that follow does not treat of that at all."²⁴

This view of DeCosta rests entirely on the assumption that Longfellow had but one specific Indian hero in mind, namely, that of the good personage who labored always for the welfare of his people. This, however, was not the conception of the poet. His Hiawatha is practically a series of stories of several Indian characters. These various persons have been blended into one "composite whole". Perhaps Mr. Brooks's discussion of some of these characters will throw some light on the point in question. He says, "Hiawatha, literally the river-maker, represented all that was noble, helpful, and progressive in Indian nature. His name implied inter-tribal friendship, treaty, and peace, and whether we meet him as the Iroquois Hiawatha, the Zuni-Po-shai-an-kia, Father of the Sacred Bands, the Omaha Hanga, or the Aztec Moteuczoma, this beneficent leader of men, known to all the tribes as the being sent to 'clear the rivers, forests, and fishing-grounds', may be regarded as a sort of composite photograph of the progressive. It was Hiawatha - a spirit of progress - who induced the restless nomads to become settlers and sojourners, to add to their strictly carnivorous bill of fare, the cereal and vegetable products of the land - corn and beans and squashes,

24. DeCosta, B.F. The Story of the Iroquois Sage in Prose and Verse, 7-12.

breadroots and natural fruits. It was Hiawatha who gradually changed the rovers into communities and confederacies. He taught them the arts of peace, led them into a clearer form of tribal and domestic institutions, and advanced them from remorseless savages into those of higher grades of savage life. There is still another type noticeable. This a hybrid one; a seeming compromise between the vices of Atotarho and the virtues of Hiawatha, and compounded of each. This type is known as Manabozho, a personage who had all power to baffle the most malicious, beat the stoutest, and overreach the most cunning. He wielded the arts of a demon and had the ubiquity of a god. It is Manabozho, who, even more than Hiawatha, seems to have been the inspiration and basis of Longfellow's now famous Indian poem. The feats portrayed in his Hiawatha are those of neither Hiawatha nor Atotarho, but of Manabozho, with this exception, that the hero is not invested with any of the malicious propensities that are ever cropping out in the Indian tales of Manabozho."²⁵

Many critics have been content to point out close resemblances between Hiawatha and the Kalevala, without having examined the various Indian Legends and myths that Schoolcraft and others had collected before the publication of the Indian Edda. In fact, I question very much if any of these critics were at all acquainted with the real sources of the epic. I am led to make this assertion because of several comments that have made upon Hiawatha. For example, one editor says, "It is no exaggeration to say that whole passages might be transferred from

²⁵. Brooks, E. S. The Story of the American Indians, Boston, 1887, Pp. 45-50.

Kalevala to Hiawatha, and vice-versa, without appearing in the least out of place."²⁶ This editor, however, does not cite any specific passages, leaving the inference that everything could be interchanged without destroying the effect of either.

One of Longfellow's biographers does point out some definite examples of similarity, at least so they appeared to him. For instance he makes this suggestion: "In the Indian legend, Wenonah, daughter of Nokomis (who fell from the moon before giving birth to her) bears a son, Hiawatha, to the West-Wind, Mudjekeewis. In the Finnish legend, the daughter of the air descends into the sea, and there, made pregnant by the wind and waves, bears Wäinämöinen, the hero of the Kalevala".²⁶ At first glance this resemblance between these two poems is quite evident. Schoolcraft, however, in the Algic Researches, Volume I, Pp. 135-136, gives us this bit of narrative. "Story says his grandmother, Nokomis, was the daughter of the moon. Having been married but a short time, her rival attracted her to a grape-vine on the banks of a lake, and by one bold exertion, pitched her into its center, from which she fell through to the earth. Having a daughter, the fruit of her lunar marriage, she was very careful in instructing her from early infancy to beware of the west-wind, and never in stooping to expose herself to its influence. In some unguarded moment this precaution was neglected. In an instant the gale invading her robes, scattered them upon its wings and accomplishing its Tarquinic purpose, at the same time annihilated her. At the scene of this catastrophe

26. Spectator, LXIII, 144-145.

26. Underwood, Francis, H., H. W. Longfellow, P. 169.

her mother found a foetus-like mass, which she carefully and tenderly nursed till it assumed the beautiful and striking lineaments of the infant Manabozho." Longfellow knew the Kalevala very well, so well, in fact, that he has cast his production into the metre of the Finnish epic. Yet, it is much more reasonable to think he followed Schoolcraft's version of this incident than that of the Kalevala. Many of the parallels I shall point out later will bear out this assertion.

This apparently hasty conclusion on the part of Underwood is illustrated in the close parallel between the fasting of Hiawatha, where he secludes himself from his people and prays to his God for the welfare of his people, gaining for them the maize, and the wonderful work of Wäinämöinen, when he sows barley and also prays to his God (Ukko) for a bountiful harvest. In both instances God gives each man the food necessary to sustain his people. The parallel, therefore, seems very close, and yet I feel that Longfellow did not use the Kalevala incident, but wove into his Hiawatha the narrative as found in Schoolcraft's work, where the author writes, "As soon as the spring came, his mother built him a little fasting-lodge in a retired spot, where he would not be disturbed; and when it was finished he went in and began his fast. He amused himself for a few mornings by rambling about in the vicinity looking at the shrubs and wild-flowers and brought great bunches of them along in his hands, which led him often to think on the goodness of the Great Spirit in providing all kinds of fruits and herbs for the use of man. This idea quite took possession of him, and he earnestly prayed that he might dream of something to benefit his people; for he

had often seen them suffering for the want of food."²⁷ Schoolcraft then tells how Hiawatha and the celestial stranger wrestle, and in the end, how the former succeeds in vanquishing the latter, putting him into the earth, and covering him as he had been directed. The author concludes, "Soon he saw the tops of the green plumes coming out of the ground, at first in the spiral points, then expanding into broad leaves, and rising in green stalks; and finally assuming their silken fringes and yellow tassels. The spring and summer had now passed; when one day, towards evening, he requested his father to visit the lonely spot where he has fasted. The old man stood amazed. The lodge was gone, and in its place stood a tall, graceful, and majestic plant, waving its colored plumes and tassels. But what most attracted his admiration was its cluster of golden ears. 'It is the friend of my dreams and vision', said the youth. 'It is Mon-da-min, it is the spirit's grain', said his father, and this is the origin of Indian corn."²⁷

Underwood made another comparison. This time it is a similarity in the manner of construction of the boats of Hiawatha and Wainamöinen. In Longfellow's poem we read:

"Give me of your bark, O Birch-Tree!

Of your yellow bark, O Birch-Tree!

Growing by the rushing river,

Tall and stately in the valley!

I a light canoe will me,

Build a swift Cheemaun for sailing,

That shall float upon the river,

27. Schoolcraft, H.R., History, Condition, & Prospects, III, p.231.

27. Schoolcraft, H.R., History, Condition, & Prospects, III, p.232.

Like a yellow leaf in Autumn,
Like a yellow water-lily."²⁸

The Indian here, continuing, asks for wood, bark, resin for his boat. Each of these materials replies to his desires - grants his wants to him. Now in the Finnish epic Wäinämöinen sends Pellerwoinen to cut wood for his boat. He, likewise, addresses the trees, and, in turn, receives replies from them. This particular incident is also found in Schoolcraft's works. Yet Underwood was led to believe that, since both of these narratives are found in the two poems, the American version was based upon the Finnish. Broili is, I think, nearer the actual fact when he writes, "In der 16 Rune der Kalevala sendet Wäinämöinen den Sampsa Pellerwoinen in den Wald, um Holz für ein neues Boot zu holen. Während nun Sampsa Pellerwoinen auf der Suche nach tauglichen Bauholz ist, unterhält er sich mit den verschiedenen Waldbäumen gerade so, als ob sie vernunftbegabte Wesen wären, stellt Fragen an sie und erhält Antwort zurück, genau so wie Hiawatha im siebenten Gesang unseres Liedes. Obwohl Longfellow zweifelsohne dieses höchst wirksame poetische Motiv der Kalevala entnommen hat, so hat er damit doch nicht ein gegen den Geist der indianischen Mythe verstossendes Element ins Gedicht eingeführt im Gegenteil, er hat damit einen höchst charakteristischen Zug derselben zur vollen Geltung gelangen lassen. Wissen wir ja, dass Manabozho mit den Bäumen und Felsen Zwiegespräche führt, als er auf Verfolgung des Pau-Pau-Keewis begriffen ist."²⁹

28. Hiawatha, Canto VII, Lines 1-9.

29. Broili, Otto, Die Hauptquellen von Longfellow's Song of Hiawatha, 14-15.

For instance, this passage finds no parallel in the Kalevala:

"Paddles none had Hiawatha,
Paddles none had or needed,
For his thoughts as paddles served him;
And his wishes served to guide him;
Swift or slow at will he glided,
Veered to right or left at pleasure."³⁰

These lines are, however, based upon an incident which Schoolcraft relates: "Tarenywagon had a canoe which would move without paddles. It was only necessary to will it, to compel it to go. With this he ascended the streams and the lakes."³¹

Likewise, the lines 113-140, dealing with the mighty Kwasind, who helped Hiawatha, find no parallel in Kalevala but come from Schoolcraft's narrative, where the author says, "He helped Manabozho to clear away the obstructions in the streams, and to remove the great wind-falls of trees from the valleys, the better to fit them for the residence of man."³²

With these few hasty attempts at pointing out the parallels of comparison of Hiawatha with Kalevala Underwood concludes by saying, "This is the whole. A diligent search through the epic failed to discover another parallel mythus."³³ These conclusions are not more hasty than are some of Porter's, who made this comment: "The general plan and structure of the two

30. Longfellow, H. W., Hiawatha, Canto VII, Lines, 107-112.

31. Schoolcraft, H. W., History, Condition, & Prospects, III, 314

32. Schoolcraft, H. R., Myths of Hiawatha, p. 79.

33. Underwood, Francis H., H. W. Longfellow, p. 172.

poems (The Kalevala and Hiawatha) are the same. Mr. Schoolcraft's Algic Researches and History of the Indian Tribes, which furnish the chief staple of the Song of Hiawatha contain nothing but loose, disjointed, independent, fragmentary legends. There is no relation between them - no such thing as a connected tale of Hiawatha and his exploits, taken down from the mouth of Indian bard or musician.

"Navadaha, the Sweet Singer, is no nucleus of an epic. All this is the work of the poet, who had evidently chosen Kalevala as his model. The runes are alike; the preludes are alike. Both heroes are mythological personages - Wainämöinen, the son of the Storm-wind and the daughter of the air, who comes down into the sea and is wooed by him, and Hiawatha, the son of Mudjekeewis, the West-wind, and Wenonah, the daughter of Nokomis. After numberless magical adventures, Wainämöinen, the benefactor and teacher of the people and the noblest representative of Heathenism, takes his departure at the birth of the Christ-child, whom he baptizes. Hiawatha, after leading a life similar in every way, retires at the approach of the Jesuit missionary, 'The Black-Robe Chief, the Pale-Face,' who comes to the people and 'Told them of the Virgin Mary, And her blessed Son - the Savior.'

"Both departed in like manner - sailed away far over the blue seas - and disappeared from the eyes of the spectators, in the horizon, there hanging midway between heaven and earth."³⁴

A moment ago I said that Porter thought the preludes of the two poems alike. This assertion is correct, as I shall show

34. Porter, T.C., Kalevala-Hiawatha, Pamphlet, p. 6-7.

later in this paper. Porter also suggests that the boat-making incident in Hiawatha comes from the Finnish epic. In this he agrees with Underwood. He, likewise, points out that the incident in Canto VIII, where Hiawatha goes to fish for the sturgeon, has its counterpart in the Kalevala. In discussion this parallel Parter says, "Hiawatha sets out in his boat on an expedition to conquer a mighty sturgeon, Mishe-Nahma, King of Fishes. Wäinämöinen has also an adventure on the lake with a mighty pike, the water-Hound, and slays him. Part of the body is dragged into the vessel and brought ashore, where the maidens come and cook the fish for the heroes, Wäinämöinen, Ilmarinen, the Smith, and Lemminkainen. In Hiawatha, too, we have three heroes, Hiawatha, Chibiabos, and Kwasind, the Strong Man."³⁵ This resemblance may be quite apparent to us; and yet I feel that Longfellow got his material from the Algic Researches, I, 144-146, where Schoolcraft relates that, "when all was ready, he (Hiawatha) went out to the middle of the lake to fish. He put down his line, saying, 'Me-she-nah-ma-gwai, take hold of my bait.' He kept repeating this statement for some time. At last the King of the Fishes said, 'Manabozho troubles me. Here, Trout, take hold of this line.' The trout did so." As the story goes, Hiawatha was not content with the trout, but sent him back. The King of Fishes then sent a monstrous sunfish to take Hiawatha's line. The Indian youth released the fish when he made his appearance. Schoolcraft then continues the narrative. "Just at that moment the bait came near the King, and hearing the cry of Manabozho, 'Me-she-nah-ma-gwai, take hold of my line', he at last did so,

35. Porter, T. C., Kalevala-Hiawatha, Pamphlet, P. 15.

and allowed himself to be drawn up to the surface, which he had no sooner reached than, at one mouthful, he took Manabozho and his canoe down. When he came to himself, Manabozho found that he was in the fish's belly, and also his canoe." Then follows a fearful struggle in which Manabozho is almost worsted. The squirrel finally makes it possible for him to overcome the sturgeon. "The spot where the fish happened to be driven ashore was near Hiawatha's lodge. He went up and told his grandmother to go and prepare as much oil as she wanted."

The foregoing statements from Schoolcraft would suggest that Porter, like Underwood, had erred in his showing the close resemblance between Hiawatha and Kalevala, for, to me, the incidents in Hiawatha, covering the narrative of the sturgeon, are based on the Indian tradition. Before leaving Porter's criticism of the poem, I wish to quote his comment on Schoolcraft's narrative, "At its conclusion he (Hiawatha) went down to the shore and assumed his seat in his mystical vessel. Sweet music was heard in the air, at the same moment, and as its cadence floated in the ears of the wondering multitude, the boat rose higher and higher, till it vanished from their sight, and disappeared in the celestial regions inhabited only by the Owaynee and his hosts", where Porter says, "It is easy to see that Longfellow has not followed this version at all; for, instead of

*These two critics, Underwood and Porter, have made, with the exception of Broili, the most comprehensive study of Longfellow's sources. Many of the author's biographers and the magazine editors have been content with saying that Longfellow secured his metrical form from the Kalevala and the content materials from the Indian tales that have been collected by Schoolcraft and others. Consequently, I shall not speak of these critics, for they have produced nothing to aid us materially in our present problem. I may have occasion to refer to them later in this paper.

sending his hero straight up to heaven, as the extravagant fancy of the Indian requires, amid the cadences of solemn music, his nicer taste, overcoming his sense of historical propriety, had led him off upon the track of Wainämöinen. The point of identity does not rest in the mere fact of departing in a boat (others, as the Mexican Quetzalcoatl, have done thus) but in the manner of his going. As the design of the poem was to portray the ideal Indian, as he existed in his native wilds, before the coming of the white man, there was no warrant for the introduction of any foreign element. The Ojibway should have exhibited no traces of the Finnish either in thought, word, or deed."³⁶

As I intimated above, Broili has made by far the most exhaustive study of the content sources of Hiawatha, with no reference to the metrical source. I think, however, that he has gone afield somewhat in a few of his deductions. I shall not present his views at this point, for I shall refer, from time to time, to some of the suggestions he has made in his Hauptquellen.

Before citing any specific instances of resemblance between Hiawatha and the narratives from which it has been created, I wish to mention those works** which Longfellow could have used in composing his poem. Of all these works the Algic Researches and The History, Conditions, & Prospects have proved of most value to me. The works are:

Schoolcraft, H. W., *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley, New York, 1826.

" *Narrative of an Expedition to Itaska Lake,
New York, 1834.

36. Porter, T. C., Kalevala-Hiawatha, p.20.

**The works marked thus*were also used by Broili in his research.

Schoolcraft, H. W., *Algie Researches or Indian Tales and Legends,

2 Vol. New York, 1839.

" *Oneota or Characteristics of the Red Men of America, New York & London, 1845.

" *Notes on the Iroquois, Albany, 1847.

" *Red Men of America, New York, 1848.

" *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of 30 Years with the Indian Tribes, Phil. & London, 1851.

" *History, Condition, & Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the U.S., 3 Parts, New York, 1851-1853.

" *The Myth of Hiawatha and Other Oral Legends, Mythologic and Allegoric, Phil. & London, 1856.

Catlin, George, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians. 2 Vol., London, 1841.

Colden, Cadwallader, *A History of the Five Nations, London, 1747.

Eastman, M. (Mrs), *Dacotah, or Life and Legends of the Sioux, New York.

Brinton, D.G., *American Hero-Myths, Phil., 1882.

" *The Myths of the New World, New York, 1868.

Heckwelder, John, History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations, Phil. 1819.

Palfrey, John G., History of New England, I, Boston, 1865.

Brooks, Elbridge, The Story of the American Indian; his origin, development, decline, and destiny, Boston, 1887.

Porter, T.C., Kalevala-Hiawatha, Pamphlet.

DeCosta, B.F., The Story of the Iroquois Sage in Prose and Verse, New York, 1873.

Proili, Otto, Die Hauptquellen von Longfellow's Song of Hiawatha,
Wurzburg, 1898.

The Kalevala, translated by Schiefner, Anton, Helsingfors, 1852.

The Kalevala, translated by Crawford, John Martin, New York, 1888.

Judson, Katharine B., Myths and Legends of the Mississippi Valley
and The Great Lakes, Chicago, 1914.

Austin, G. L., H. W. Longfellow, Boston, 1883.

Underwood, Francis H., H. W. Longfellow; A Biographical Sketch,
Boston, 1882.

The Riverside Edition of Hiawatha, Boston 1901 & 1907.

Robertson, Eric S., Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, London, 1887.

Besides these texts I have found some material, especially for the metrical sources, in various magazine articles. These references I have placed in the bibliography, which I have inserted at the end of this paper. Likewise, I have left all general texts, dealing with the author and his poem, for this bibliographical list. Then too, some of the texts referring to the Indian narratives are of a later date of publication than Hiawatha. But I have had occasion to use some of these for corroboration of Schoolcraft's works. In the case of The Myth of Hiawatha this has been used because in this volume the author has placed all the myths and legends used by Longfellow in his poem in the one text. All of these narratives, however, had been published earlier in Schoolcraft's other works.

The list of works mentioned above is very large, and it would be absurd to say that Longfellow used all these texts. I doubt very much if he took any of his narratives from any of these works outside of the more important volumes of Schoolcraft, of Heckewelder, Tanner, and the Kalevala. Many of these texts

merely offered suggestions for my study. Yet all of them, to a certain extent, pertain to the sources of Hiawatha.

In taking up this study I have thought it well to try to account for each incident as it comes in the Hiawatha, tracing this incident to its origin. By so doing I shall be able, when I have reached the end of the last Canto of the poem, to draw some definite conclusions as to the actual sources of the Indian Edda.

Chapter I.

Some time ago we noted that the opening of Hiawatha bore some close resemblance to the beginning of the Kalevala. At this point I wish to carry out this parallel to its finish, thus showing our poet's debt to the older epic. As Longfellow represents the narratives as coming from the

"The great lakes of the Northland,
From the land of the Ojibways,
From the land of the Dacotahs,
From the mountains, moors, and fen-lands,
Where the heron, the Shuh-shuh-gah,
Feeds among the reeds and rushes",³⁷ so the authors of the Kalevala have their songs "preserved from distant ages,
From the belt of Wäinämöinen,
From the forge of Ilmarinen,
From the sword of Kaukomieli,
From the bow of Youkahainen,
From the pastures of the Northland,"³⁸

Continuing this comparison, we may further note that as the stories in Hiawatha came "from the lips of Nawadaha, the musician, the sweet singer," so the songs in Kalevala were preserved from distant ages, "These my dear old father sang me
When at work with knife and hatchet:
These my tender mother taught me
When she twirled the flying spindle,
When a child upon the matting
By her feet I rolled and tumbled."³⁹

37. Hiawatha, Introduction, Lines 11-17.

38,39. Kalevala, Proem, Lines 35-40, 42-48.

Likewise, in Longfellow's poem we note that Nawadaha

"Found these songs so wild and wayward,
Found these legends and traditions,
In the birds'-nests of the forest,
In the lodges of the beaver,
In the hoof-prints of the bison,
In the eyry of the eagle!"⁴⁰ Similarly, in the Finnish epic, the hero sings,

"There are many other legends,
Incantations that were taught me,
That I found along the wayside,
Gathered in the fragrant copses,
Blown me from the distant branches,
Culled among the plumes of pine-trees,
Scented from the vines and flowers,
Whispered to me as I followed
Flocks in land of honeyed meadows,
Over hillocks green and golden,
After the many-colored Kimmo.
Many runes the cold has told me,
Many lays the rain has brought me,
Other songs the winds have sung me;
Many birds from many forests,
Oft have sung me lays in concord;
Waves of sea, and ocean billows,
Music from the many waters,

40. Hiawatha, Introduction, Lines 22-28

Music from the whole creation,
Oft have been my guide and master."⁴¹

Another parallel is suggested by these passages. In Kalevala we read, "Golden friend, and dearest brother,
Brother dear of mine in childhood,
Come and sing with me the stories,
Come and chant with me the legends,
Legends of the times forgotten,
Since we now are here together,
Come together from our roamings.
Join we now in merry singing,
Chant we now the oldest folk-lore,
That the dear ones all may hear them,
That the well-inclined may hear them,
Of this rising generation."⁴² In Hiawatha we find;
"Ye who love a nation's legends,
Love the ballads of a people,
That like voices from afar off
Call to us to pause and listen,
Speak in tones so plain and childlike,
Scarcely can the ear distinguish
Whether they are sung or spoken:-
Listen to this Indian Legend,
To this Song of Hiawatha."⁴³

These various passages thus quoted show quite conclusively that Longfellow followed the proem of the Finnish poem.

41. Kalevala, Proem, Lines 54-73.

42. Kalevala, Proem, Lines 14-20; 27-31.

43. Hiawatha, Introduction, Lines 79-87.

In both poems the sources are practically alike, that is, the poets went back into primitive times for the legends, back to the period when man had intercourse with other beings besides man himself, when Nature revealed all knowledge of past things to man. As a result of these close parallels, I am led to believe, since we have no other evidence to account for this Introduction, that Longfellow has adopted the rather effective opening of Kalevala for his poem.

This close adherence to the Kalevala is not so noticeable in the succeeding Cantos, especially, the second one. In fact, it is a question where the poet got his suggestion for this Canto. No parallel of the Peace-Pipe occurs in the Kalevala. On the other hand, Schoolcraft, from whom Longfellow borrowed most of his narratives, offers no incident as pictured in the second Canto. We do have this rather far-fetched suggestion, namely, the calling of the tribes together, to decide whether to go to war or not, a passage which may be likened to the narrative of the old Hiawatha, who has been urged by the tribes to decide whether they shall go into the battle or return to their homes. In this incident we see that "Hiawatha advises them to go back to their old occupations, laying aside their arms."⁴⁴

This suggestion seems to me rather too vague to account for the story of the Peace-Pipe. The major part of this Canto was undoubtedly suggested to Longfellow by the following incident related by Catlin, who writes, "Here happened the mysterious birth of the red pipe, which has blown its fumes of

44. Schoolcraft, H. R., History, Condition, & Prospects, III, 317.

peace and war to the remotest corners of the continent; which has visited every warrior, and passed through its reddened stem the irrevocable oath of war and desolation. And here also, the peace-breathing calumnet was born, and fringed with the eagle's quills, which has shed its thrilling fumes over the land, and soothed the fury of the relentless savage. The Great Spirit at an ancient period here called the Indian nations together, and, standing on the precipice of the red pipe-stone quarry, broke from its wall a piece, and made a huge pipe by turning it in his hand, which he smoked over them, and to the North, the South, the East, and the West, and told them that this stone was red—that it was their flesh—that they must use it for their pipes of peace—that it belonged to them, and that the war-club and the scalping-knife must not be raised on the ground. At the last whiff of his pipe his head went into a great cloud, and the whole surface of the rock for several miles was melted and glazed; two great ovens were opened beneath, and two women (guardians of the place) entered them in a blaze of fire; and they heard there yet (Tso-mec-cos-tee and Tos-me-cos-te-won-dee), answering to the invocations of the high-priests or medicine men, who consult them when they are visitors to the sacred place."⁴⁵

At another place Catlin writes, "Many ages after the red men were made, when all the different tribes were at war, the Great Spirit sent runners and called them all together at the Red Pipe. He stood on the top of the rocks, and the red people were assembled in infinite numbers on the plain below.

He took out of the rock a piece of red stone, and made a large pipe; he smoked it over them all; told them that it was part of

⁴⁵.Catlin, George, Letters, Notes on the Manners, Customs, etc. II, 163-4

their flesh; that it belonged to them all; that they would make their calumets from it and smoke them from his pipe rolled over them, and he disappeared in its cloud."⁴⁶

Broili intimates that Longfellow may have this scene in mind when he says in his poem,
"From his footprints flowed a river,
Leaped into the light of morning,
O'er the precipice plunging downward
Gleamed like Ishkoodah, the comet.
And the spirit, stooping earthward,
with his finger on the meadow
Tracing a winding pathway for it,
Saying to it, 'Run in this way'", the rock on which I stand to write is the summit of a precipice 30 feet high, extending two miles in length and much of the way polished, as if a liquid glazing had been poured over its surface. Not far from us in the solid rock are the deep impressed foot-steps of the Great Spirit (in the form of a track of a bird), where he formerly stood, when the blood of buffaloes that he was devouring ran into the rocks and turned them red. At a few yards from us leaped a beautiful little stream, from the top of a precipice in a deep basin below. Here amid rocks of the loveliest hues, but wildest contour, is seen the poor Indian performing ablution."⁴⁷

At first glance these passages may appear rather indefinite; and yet, when we place them by the side of Longfellow's story, of his poetical expression of the calling together of the war-like Indians, to hear the words of the Gitchie Manito,

46. Catlin, George, Letters, Notes on the Manners, Customs, etc. II, 169.

47. Broili, Otto, Die Hauptquellen von Longfellow's Song of Hiawatha, p. 36

we can see that he has, at least, given us the key-note of those passages. What this Canto contains, aside from the quotations from Catlin, is due largely to the poet's imagination. This imagination was vivid enough to color somewhat the otherwise inelegant tales of Schoolcraft and Catlin.

This apparent vagueness, noted in Canto II, is not characteristic of the next Canto. Here we see Longfellow describing four great personages, who represent the four winds of the earth. The first of these, Mudjekeewis, has won a signal victory over Mishe-Mokwa, from whom he has taken the belt of wampum. He achieved this success by stealth and great strength, dispatching him with his mighty war-club.

"Then again he raised his war-club,
Smote again the Mishe-Mokwa
In the middle of his forehead,
Broke his skull, as ice is broken
When one goes to fish in winter.
Thus was slain the Mishe-Mokwa,
He the Great Bear of the Mountains,
He the terror of the nations."⁴⁸

This incident is related at great length in the Algic Researches, in the story of "Iamo; or the Undying Head." In this tale Judjekeewis and his brothers have various experiences. Among these Mr. Schoolcraft relates the following: "The distance between them was very great, but the size of the animal caused him plainly to be seen. 'There,' exclaimed the leader, 'it is he to

48. Hiawatha, Canto II, Lines 58-65.

whom I am leading you; here our troubles only will commence, for he is a Mishomokwa and a Manito. It is he who has that we prize so dearly (i.e., wampum), to obtain which, the warriors whose bones we saw sacrificed their lives.' They advanced boldly until they came near, when they stopped to view him more closely. He was fast asleep. Then the leader went forward and touched the belt around the animal's neck. 'This,' he said, 'is the belt which contains the wampum.' They then requested the eldest to try and slip the belt over the bear's head, who appeared to be asleep, as he was not in the least disturbed by the attempt to obtain the belt. All their efforts were in vain, till it came to the one next the youngest. He tried and the belt moved nearly over the monster's head, but he could not get it any farther. Then the youngest one and leader made his attempt, and succeeded." Then we note that the bear awakens, pursued the brothers. After various incidents and struggles Mudjekeewis "gave a yell and struck him a blow upon the head. This he repeated till it seemed like a mass of brains."⁴⁹

As a result of this heroic battle Mudjekeewis was "to direct the west-wind, hence generally called Kabeyun, there to remain forever."⁵⁰

In this narrative of Mudjekeewis, or rather within the narrative, as presented by Longfellow, we find another source suggested. I have reference to these lines,

"Hark, you, bear! you are a coward
And no Brave, as you pretended;

49. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, I, 103 & 111-112.

50. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, I, 119.

Else you would not cry and whimper
Like a miserable woman!
Bear! you know our tribes are hostile,
Long have been at war together;
Now you find that we are strongest,
You go sneaking in the forest,
You go hiding in the mountains!
Had you conquered me in battle
Not a groan would I have uttered;
But you, Bear! sit here and whimper,
Like a wretched Shaugodaya,
Like a cowardly old woman."⁵¹

This anecdote is clearly from Heckewelder, who writes,
"I was present at the delivery of this curious invective (Hark,
you, Bear) when the hunter had despatched the bear. I asked him
how he thought the poor animal understood what he said to it?
'O,' said he in answer, 'the bear understood me very well. Did
you not observe how ashamed he looked while I was upbraiding
him?'"⁵²

To conclude the Mudjekeewis incident, I wish to point
out the close resemblance between these two passages. In the
poem we read,

"Thus was Mudjekeewis chosen
Father of the Winds of Heaven.
For himself he kept the west-Wind,
Gave the South to Shawondasee,

51. Hiawatha, Canto II, Lines 43-57.

52. Heckewelder quoted in the Tauchnitz Edition of Longfellow,
P.316.

And the North-Wind, wild and cruel,
To the fierce Kabibonokka."⁵³

In Schoolcraft we find; "Mudjekeewis and nine brothers conquered the Mammoth bear, and obtained the Sacred Belt of Wampum, the great object of previous warlike enterprise, and the great means of happiness to men. The chief honor of this achievement was awarded to Mudjekeewis, the youngest of the ten, who received the government of the West-Winds. He is therefore called Kaceyun, the father of the winds. To his son, Wabun, he gave the East; to Shawondasee, the South; to Kabibonokka, the North."⁵⁴

Into this same Canto Longfellow has woven other traditions and legends.* One of these is the incident of Kabibonokka and Shingebis, where the former tries to freeze out the latter, simply because Shingebis has been able to withstand the cold blasts that Kabibonokka has sent to destroy him. Since we can find no such incident in the Kalevala, we must look to the Indian legends for this narrative. In the History we read, "Shingebis, in a solitary lodge on the shores of the deep bay of a lake, would go out during the coldest day, and seek for places where flags and rushes grew through the ice, and plucking them up with his bill, would dive through the openings, in quest of fish. In this way he found plenty of food, while others were starving, and he went home daily to his lodge, dragging strings of fish after him, on the ice."⁵⁵

54. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, II, 214.

*The Wabun Incident based on Algic Researches, II, 214.

55. Schoolcraft, H.R., History, Condition, & Prospects of the Indian Tribes, III, 324-326.



Longfellow, in the Hiawatha, writes,

"There among the reeds and rushes
Found he Shingebis, the diver,
Trailing strings of fish behind him,
O'er the frozen fens and moorlands,
Lingering still among the moorlands,
Though his tribe had long departed
To the land of Shawondasee."

The poet continues thus,

"Cried the fierce Kabibonokka,
'Who is this that dares to brave me?
Dares to stay in my dominions,
When the Wawa has departed,
When the wild-goose has gone southward,
And the heron, the Shuh-shuh-gah,
Long ago departed southward?
I will go into his wigwam,
I will put his smouldering fire out.'"**

Returning to Schoolcraft we find; "Kabibonokka observed him, and felt piqued at his perseverance and good luck in defiance of the severest blasts of wind he could send from the Northwest. 'Why, this is a wonderful man,' said the old man; 'he does not mind the cold at all. He appears as happy and contented as if it were the month of June. I will try whether he can be mastered.'"⁵⁶

These two passages show a close resemblance;

"And at night Kabibonokka
To the lodge came wild and wailing,

**The selections pertaining to Shingebis, Canto II, Lines, 129-224.

56. Schoolcraft, H. R., History, Condition, & Prospects, III, 326.



Heaped the snow on drifts about it,
Shouted down into the smoke-flue,
Shook the lodge-poles in his fury,
Flapped the curtain of the doorway,
Shingebis, the diver feared not,
Shingebis, the diver, cared not."

"He poured forth tenfold colder blasts, and drifts of snow, so that it was impossible to live in the open air. Still, the fire of Shingebis did not go out."⁵⁷

Another parallel is seen in these extracts;

"By his blazing fire he sat there,
Warm and merry, eating, laughing,
Singing, 'O Kabibonokka,
You are but my fellow-mortal.'"

Schoolcraft says, "Meantime, Shingebis has cooked his fish and finished his meal, and was lying before the fire, singing his songs. After Kabibonokka had come to the door, and stood there listening, Shingebis sang, 'Spirit of the Northwest - you are but my fellow-man.'"⁵⁸

To conclude this incident, we should note these parallel passages, to see how, in spite of all of Kabibonokka's efforts, Shingebis is never worried, but goes on his way rejoicing.

"From Kabobonokka's forehead,
From his snow-sprinkled tresses,
Drops of sweat fell fast and heavy,
Making dints upon the ashes,

57,58. Schoolcraft, H.R., History, Condition, & Prospects, III, 326.

As along the eaves of lodges,
As from drooping boughs of hemlock,
Drips the melting snow in spring-time,
Making hollows in the snow-drifts.
Till at last he rose defeated,
Could not bear the heat and laughter,
Could not bear the merry singing,
But rushed headlong through the door-way." In the History we read,
"Very soon the tears began to flow down Kabibonokka's cheeks,
which increased so fast that presently he said to himself; 'I
cannot stand this - I must go out. I can neither freeze him nor
starve him; he is a very singular being - I will let him alone.'"⁵⁹

In many places, as we go on through the poem, we see that the author has taken the bare Indian tales and has recast them into the poetic language, for, in many cases, the two incidents are very similar, in fact, so much so, that one appears the prose narration and the other the poetical. This condition is seen in the last incident recorded in Canto II. I have in mind the story of Shawondasee, whom Schoolcraft describes as follows: "Shawondasee is represented as an affluent, plethoric old man, who has grown unwieldy from repletion, and seldom moves. He keeps his eyes steadfastly fixed on the North. When he sighs, in autumn, we have those balmy southern airs, which communicate warmth and delight over the northern hemisphere and make the Indian summer."⁶⁰

59. Schoolcraft, H.R., History, Condition, & Prospects, III, 326.

60. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, II, 214.



Longfellow pictures him thus:

"Shawondasee, fat and lonely,-
Had his dwelling far to southward,
In the drowsy, dreamy sunshine,
In the never-ending Summer.
He it was who sent the wood-birds,
Touched the rugged hills with sunshine,
Brought the tender Indian Summer
To the melancholy North-land,
In the dreary Moon of Snow-shoes."

Continuing this narrative Schoolcraft writes, "One day, while gazing toward the north, he beheld a beautiful young woman of slender and majestic form, standing on the plains. She appeared in the same place for several days, but what most attracted his admiration was her bright and flowing locks of yellow hair. Ever dilatory, however, he contented himself with gazing. At length he saw, or fancied he saw, her head enveloped in a pure white mass like snow. This excited his jealousy toward his brother Kabibonokka, and he threw out a succession of short and rapid sighs - when lo! the air was filled with light filaments of a silvery hue, but the object of his affections had vanished forever. In reality, the southern airs had blown off the fine-winged seed-vessels of the prairie dandelions."⁶¹

This incident the poet has worked over into his poem.
"Once, as he was gazing northland,
Far away upon a prairie,
He beheld a maiden standing,
Saw a tall and slender maiden

61. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algie Researches, II, 215.



All alone upon a prairie;
Day by day he gazed upon her,
Day by day he sighed with passion,
Day by day his heart within him
Grew more hot with love and longing
For the maid with yellow tresses.
But he was too fat and lazy
To bestir himself and woo her:
Only sat there and sighed with passion,
For the maiden of the prairie.
Till one morning, looking northward,
He beheld her yellow tresses
Changed and covered o'er with whiteness,
Covered as with whitest snow-flakes.
'Ah! my brother from the North-land,
From the kingdom of Wabasso,
From the land of the White Rabbit!
You have stolen the maiden from me,
You have laid her hand upon her,
You have wooed and won my maiden,
With your stories of the North-land.'
Thus the wretched Shawondasee
Breathed into the air his sorrow;
And the South-Wind o'er the prairie
Wandered warm with sighs of passion,
With the sighs of Shawondasee.
And the maid with hair like sunshine
Vanished from his sight forever;

Poor, deluded Shawondasee!

't was no woman that you gazed at,

't was no maiden that you sighed for,

't was the prairie dandelion

That through all the dreamy Summer

you had gazed at with such longing,

you had sighed for with such passion.

And had puffed away forever,

Blown into the air with sighing."⁶²

62. Hiawatha, Canto II, Lines 226-298. (These lines include all extracts)



Chapter II.

Thus far, the narratives that we have traced to their sources have been of an elementary nature, that is, they have given us the background for the incidents we shall discuss in this chapter. In Canto III Longfellow pictures Hiawatha's birth and childhood, and also describes his relatives. In the succeeding Cantos he tells us about the struggle between Hiawatha and his father, Mudjekeewis, and about Hiawatha's fasting, while in Canto VI the poet gives us a short narrative about Chibiabos and Kwasind, the close friends of Hiawatha. In this chapter we shall attempt to account for these various incidents, giving some extracts to show the close resemblance between the poem and its sources.

As I have already intimated, Canto III deals with the birth of Hiawatha. Longfellow tells us that this hero came from a lunar union, that his mother was caught by Mudjekeewis, the West-wind, and destroyed by him, after she had given birth to her son. In the language of the poet we read; "Downward through the evening twilight,

In the days that are forgotten,
In the unremembered ages,
From the full moon fell Nokomis,
She a wife but not a mother.
She was sporting with her women,
Swinging in a swing of grape-vines,
When her rival, the rejected,
Full of jealousy and hatred,
Cut the leafy swing asunder,
Cut in twain the twisted grape-vines,



And Nokomis fell affrighted
Downward through the evening twilight,
On the Muskaday, the meadow,
On the prairie full of blossoms,
There among the ferns and mosses,
There among the prairie lilies,
On the Muskaday, the meadow,
In the moonlight and the starlight,
Fair Nokomis bore a daughter.
And she called her name Wenonah,
As the first-born of her daughters.
And the daughter of Nokomis
Grew up like the prairie lilies,
Grew a tall and slender maiden,
With the beauty of the moonlight,
With the beauty of the starlight.
And Nokomis warned her often,
Saying oft, and oft repeating,
'Oh, beware of Mudjekeewis,
Of the West-Wind, Mudjekeewis;
Listen not to what he tells you;
Lie not down upon the meadow,
Stoop not down among the lilies,
Lest the West-Wind come and harm you.'
But she heeded not the warning,
Heeded not those words of wisdom.
And the West-wind came at evening,
Walking lightly o'er the prairie,
Whispering to the leaves and blossoms,

Bending low the flowers and grasses,
Found the beautiful Wenonah,
Lying there among the lilies,
 wooed her with his words of sweetness,
 wooed her with his soft caresses,
Till she bore a son in sorrow.
Thus was born my Hiawatha.
Thus was born the child of wonder;
But the daughter of Nokomis,
Hiawatha's mother,
In her anguish died deserted
By the West-wind, false and faithless,
By the heartless Mudjekeewis."⁶³

Porter and Underwood** have contended that these lines are based on the incidents recorded in the Kalevala. To a certain extent, the central theme is similar in both epics; and yet I feel that Longfellow had in mind a narrative from Schoolcraft when he wrote this Canto. In the Algie Researches we read; "Hiawatha's grandmother was the daughter of the moon. Having been married but a short time, her rival attracted her to a grape-vine swing on the banks of a lake, and by one bold exertion pitched her into its center, from which she fell through to the earth. Having a daughter, the fruit of her lunar marriage, she was very careful in instructing her, from early infancy, to beware of the westwind, and never, in stooping, to expose herself. In a moment of forgetfulness, this precaution was neglected. In an instant, the gale,

63. Hiawatha, Canto III, Lines 1-57.

**For Porter and Underwood's comment on this point see Pp.12 & 16.

invading her robes, scattered them upon its wings, and accomplishing its Tarquinic purpose, at the same time annihilated her. At the scene of this catastrophe her mother found a foetus-like mass, which she carefully and tenderly nursed till it assumed the beautiful and striking lineaments of the infant Hiawatha."⁶⁴

One passage from the Kalevala will show that the conception and birth of Wainämöinen were different from those of Hiawatha. In the first Rune of the Finnish epic we read,

"In primeval times, a maiden,
Beauteous Daughter of the Ether,
Passed for ages her existence
In the great expanse of heaven,
O'er the prairies yet unfolded.
Wearisome the maiden growing,
Her existence sad and hopeless,
Thus alone to live for ages
In the infinite expanses
Of the air above the sea-foam,
In the air above the sea-foam,
In the far outstretching spaces,
In a solitude of ether,
She descended to the ocean,
waves her couch, and waves her pillow.
Inereupon the rising storm-wind
Flying from the East in fierceness,
Whips the ocean into surges,
Strikes the stars with sprays of ocean
Till the waves are white with fervor.

64. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algonic Researches, I, 137.

To and fro they toss the maiden,
Storm-encircled, hapless maiden;
with her sport the rolling billows,
with her play the storm-wind forces,
On the blue back of the waters;
On the white-wreathed waves of ocean,
Play the forces of the salt-sea,
with the lone and helpless maiden;
till at last in full conception,
Union now of force and beauty,
Sink the storm-winds into slumber;
Overburdened now the maiden
Cannot rise above the surface;
Seven hundred years she wandered,
Ages nine of man's existence,
Swam the ocean hither, thither,
Could not rise above the waters;
Seven hundred years she labored
ere her first-born was delivered."⁶⁵

These lines do not give the incident that we find in Hiawatha. As we stated above, the mother of Wenonah fell from the moon to the meadow below, and there gave birth to her daughter. The account of the mothers' leaving their old homes is entirely different, also the manner of the birth and conception of the hero of each poem. Perhaps, before we draw any sharp conclusions, we should note this parallel between the Kalevala and Hiawatha. In the latter poem the poet writes, "For her daughter, long and loudly

65. Kalevala, Rune I, P. 6

Wailed and wept the sad Nokomis;
'Oh that I were dead!' she murmured,
'Oh that I were dead as thou art!
No more work, and no more weeping,
Wahonowin! Wahonowin!'"⁶⁶

This passage was given by Nokomis, the grandmother of Nokomis, the grandmother of Hiawatha. In the Kalevala the lines are spoken by the mother of Väinämöinen, long before the world was created, when all was a void, a vast expanse of ocean. The woman, in her agony, cries out;

"'Woe is me, my life hard-fated!
Woe is me, in this my travail!
Into what have I now fallen?
Woe is me, that I unhappy,
Left my home in subtle ether,
Came to dwell amid the sea-foam,
To be tossed by rolling billows,
To be rocked by winds and waters,
On the far outstretching waters,
In the salt-sea's vast expanses,
Knowing only pain and trouble!
Better far for me, O Ukko!
Were I maiden in the Ether,
Than within these ocean-spaces,
To become a water-mother!'"⁶⁷

From these parallel passages we can readily see that Longfellow did not adopt the incidents of the Kalevala for his

66. Hiawatha, Canto III, Lines 58-63.

67. Kalevala, Rune II, Pp. 6-7.



story of the birth of Hiawatha. The Indian narrative is practically like the one used by the poet. As a result, I am led to affirm that Longfellow took the Indian tradition and worked it over into his conception of the incident.

In much the same manner lines 74-97 are also taken from the Algic Researches. These lines relate how Nokomis nursed the infant Hiawatha and taught him the many things she knew about her former home. Longfellow got his material, undoubtedly, from this passage of Schoolcraft: "You are the youngest of my children. I have nourished you from infancy, for your mother died in giving you birth, owing to the ill treatment of your father."⁶⁸

Lines 98-144 are likewise based on an incident recorded in the Algic Researches. In this passage the poet tells how the boy Hiawatha became conversant with the animals of his locality, how he learned about the moon, the rainbow, and the owls. In the language we read, "At the door on summer evenings

Sat the little Hiawatha;
Heard the whispering of the pine-trees.
Heard the lapping of the waters,
Sounds of music, words of wonder;
'Minne-wawa!' said the pine-trees.
'Mudway-aushka!' said the water.
Saw the fire-fly, Wah-wah-taysee,
Flitting through the dusk of evening,
With the twinkle of its candle
Lighting up the brakes and bushes,
And he sang the song of children,
Sang the song Nokomis taught him:

68. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, I, 139.

'Wah-wah-taysee, little fire-fly,
Little, dancing, white-fire creature,
Light me with your little candle,
Ere upon my bed I lay me,
Ere in sleep I close my eyelids!'
Saw the moon rise from the water,
Rippling, rounding from the water,
Saw the flocks and shadows on it,
Whispered, 'What is that, Nokomis?'
And the good Nokomis answered:
'Once a warrior, very angry,
Seized his grandmother, and threw her
Up into the sky at midnight;
Right against the moon he threw her,
'T is her body that you see there.'
Saw the rainbow in the heaven,
In the eastern sky, the rainbow,
Whispered, 'What is that, Nokomis?'
And the good Nokomis answered:
'T is the heaven of flowers you see there,
All the wild-flowers of the forest,
All the lilies of the prairie,
When on earth they fade and perish,
Blossom in that heaven above us.'
When he heard the owls at midnight,
Hooting, laughing in the forest,
'What is that,' he cried in terror,
'What is that,' he said, 'Nokomis?'
And the good Nokomis answered:

'That is but the owl and owlet
Talking in their native language,
Talking, scolding at each other.'"⁶⁹

The narrative from which these lines come runs thus:
"Manabozho was living with his grandmother near the edge of a wide prairie. On this prairie he first saw animals and birds of every kind. He there also saw exhibitions of divine power in the sweeping tempests, in the thunder and lightning, and the various shades of light and darkness, which form a never-ending scene of observation. Every new sight he beheld in the heavens was a subject of deep interest; every new animal or bird an object of remark; and every sound uttered by the animal creation a new lesson, which he was expected to learn. He often trembled at what he heard and saw. To this scene his grandmother sent him at an early age to watch. The first sound he heard was that of the owl, at which he was greatly terrified, and quickly descending the tree he had climbed, he ran with alarm to the lodge. 'Noko, Noko,' he cried, 'I have heard a monedo.' She laughed at his fears, and asked him what kind of noise it made. He answered, 'It makes a noise like:Ko-k6-ko-ho.' She told him that he was young and foolish, that what he heard was only a bird, deriving its name from the noise it makes."⁷⁰

There are other traditions* used in this Canto, but I shall mention only one of these in detail. This incident is concerned with Hiawatha's knowledge, where Longfellow describes how Hiawatha, "Learned of every bird its language,

69. Hiawatha, Canto III, Lines 98-144.

70. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, I, 138.

*One of these traditions deals with Iagoo, the famous story-teller.

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Learned their names and all their secrets,
How they built their nests in Summer,
Where they hid themselves in Winter,
Talked with them whene'er he met them,
Called them 'Hiawatha's Chickens'.
Of all the beasts he learned the language,
Learned their names and all their secrets,
How the beavers built their lodges,
Where the squirrels hid their acorns,
How the reindeer ran so swiftly,
Why the rabbit was so timid,
Talked with them whene'er he met them,
Called them 'Hiawatha's Brothers'."⁷¹

These lines are but the poetical expression of the following passage found in Schoolcraft: "In wisdom and energy he was superior to any one who had ever lived before. He often conversed with animals, fowls, reptiles, and fishes. He deemed himself related to them, and invariably addressed them by the term 'my brother'."⁷²

Longfellow based his incident on an account found in the Algic Researches, II, 229.

"Hush! the Naked Bear will hear you", seems to have been inspired by a statement found in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, V, 260, where Heckewelder writes, "Their reports run thus: that among all animals that had formerly been in this country, this was the most ferocious; that it was much larger than the largest of the common bears, and remarkably longbodied; all over (except a spot on its back of a white color) naked. The history of this animal used to be a subject of conversation among the Indians, especially when in the woods a hunting; I have also heard them say to their children when crying: 'Hush the naked bear

71. Hiawatha, Canto III, Lines 145-158.

72. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, I, 136-137.



As we pass from Canto III to Canto IV we note that the poet has continued the traditional story of Hiawatha, describing the struggle he had with his father, Mudjekeewis, who had deserted his wife at the birth of his son. Longfellow relates how Nokomis has told Hiawatha about his past life, his birth, and his father. To atone for the death of his mother, the son goes forth to do battle with Mudjekeewi, whom he meets in the far west. For a time, says Longfellow, the father and son talk about the past life. Finally, each learns what will destroy the other. Then the battle begins. The poet writes,

"Then began the deadly conflict,
Hand to hand among the mountains;
From his eyry screamed the eagle,
The Keneu, the great war-eagle,
Sat upon the crags around them,
Wheeling flapped his wings above them.
Like a tall tree in the tempest
Bent and lashed the giant bulrush;
And in masses huge and heavy
Crashing fell the fatal Wawbeck;
Till the earth shook with tumult
And confusion of the battle.
Back retreated Mudjekeewis,
Rushing westward o'er the mountains,
Stumbling westward down the mountains,
Three whole days retreated fighting,
Still pursued by Hiawatha

when crying: 'Hush the naked bear will hear you, be upon, and
eat you.'"



To the doorways of the West-Wind,
To the portals of the Sunset."⁷³

At length Mudjekeewis cries for mercy. Then he tells his son to go back home and cleanse the earth of all that tends to destroy the happiness of mankind. Before Hiawatha departs, however, Mudjekeewis bestows a share of his kingdom upon him:

"Ruler shall you be thenceforward
Of the Northwest-Wind, Keewaydin,
Of the home-wind, Keewaydin."⁷⁴

This entire incident is based on a narrative Schoolcraft relates in his Algic Researches. I shall quote enough of the passage to show the close parallel. Schoolcraft writes, "He appeared to be rejoiced to hear that his father was living, for he had already thought in his heart to try and kill him. He told his grandmother he should start out in the morning to visit him. She said it was a long distance to where the West-Wind lived." We find this statement of Nokomis did not deter him. He sets out and travels on until he reaches the home of his father, who was glad to see him. "They spent several days in talking with each other. One evening Manabozho asked his father what he was most afraid of on earth. He replied, 'Nothing'. 'But there is something you dread here. Tell me.' At last the father said, yielding, 'Yes, there is a black stone found in some place. It is the only thing earthly I am afraid of; for if it should hit me or any part of my body, it would injure me very much.'" The father, in turn, asks the son what would hurt him. At first the son replies that nothing can effect him. Finally, he tells the father that it is

73. Hiawatha, Canto IV, Lines 85-106.

74. Hiawatha, Canto III, Lines 232-234.

the root of the apukwa. Each then secures the necessary article with which to combat. The author continues, "In the course of the conversation he asked his father whether he had been the cause of his mother's death. The answer was, 'Yes.' Manabozho then took up the rock and struck him. Blow led to blow, and here commenced an obstinate and furious combat, which continued several days. Fragments of rock, broken off under Manabozho's great strength, can be seen in various places to this day. The root did not prove as mortal a weapon as his well-acted fears had led his father to expect, although he suffered severely from the blows. This battle commenced on the mountains. The West-wind was forced to give ground. Manabozho drove him across rivers, and over mountains and lakes, and at last he came to the brink of this world. 'Hold', cried the father, 'my son, you know my power, and that it is impossible to kill me. Desist, and I will portion you out with as much power as your brothers. The four quarters of the earth are already occupied; but you can go and do a great deal of good to the people of this earth, which is infested with large serpents, beasts, and monsters, which make havoc among the inhabitants. Go and do good. You have power now to so, and your fame with the beings of this earth will last forever. When you have finished your work, I will have a place provided for you. You will then go and sit down with your brother Kabibonokka in the north.'" ⁷⁵

From this hurried review we can readily see the close resemblance between the poem and its source. In some instances the two are almost exact. At other times the poetical instinct carries the original narrative into the realm of the imaginative.

75. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, I, 139-143.



Yet the fundamentals are quite evident throughout.

As I have already pointed out, this poem is not the result of one single tradition, but the union of several traditions. For example, in the earlier part of this Canto, Longfellow says, "Swift of foot was Hiawatha;
He could shoot an arrow from him,
And run forward with such fleetness,
That the arrow fell behind him."

These lines are not found in the original Hiawatha incident. They are, however, suggested by an extract in the story of the "Red Swan", where the author relates, "Off he started on the run; he was noted for his speed, for he would shoot an arrow, and then run so fast that the arrow always fell behind him."⁷⁶

To conclude the discussion of Longfellow's use of sources in this Canto* I shall suggest this parallel. This incident has to do with Hiawatha's return, after his combat with his father, to his old home, to live with Nokomis. On the way there he encounters an old Arrow-maker. There he meets Minnehaha, whom he loves and plans to win. In the language of the poet we read:
"Only once his pace he slackened,
Only once he paused or halted,
Paused to purchase heads of arrows
Of the ancient Arrow-maker,
In the land of the Dacotahs,
Where the falls of Minnehaha
Flash and gleam among the oak-trees,
Laugh and leap into the valley.

76. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algie Researches, II, 12-13.

*In the opening lines of the Canto (1-6) Longfellow relates how



With him dwelt his dark-eyed daughter,
Wayward as the Minnehaha,
With her moods of shade and sunshine,
Eyes that smiled and frowned alternate,
Feet as rapid as the river,
Tresses flowing like the water,
And as musical a laughter;
And he named her from the river,
From the water-fall he named her,
Minnehaha, Laughing Water.
Was it then for heads of arrows,
Arrow-heads of chalcedony,
Arrow-heads of flint and jasper,
That my Hiawatha halted
In the land of the Dacotahs?
Who shall say what thoughts and visions
Fill the fiery brains of young men?
Who shall say what dreams of beauty
Filled the heart of Hiawatha?

Hiawatha was skilled in all 'lore of old men'. This incident apparently comes from a passage recorded in the History, Condition, & Prospects of the Indians, where Schoolcraft says, "He helped them to get mastery over the great monsters, and thus prepared the forests for their hunters. His wisdom was as great as his power. The people listened to him with great admiration, and they gladly followed his advice. There was nothing in which he did not excel good hunters, brave warriors, and eloquent orators."

The passage, beginning with line 16 and ending with line 25, may have been inspired by this incident in the Algic Researches. V, 144; "He had now attained manhood, possessed a giant's height, and was endowed by nature with a giant's power, he set out and soon reached the place, for every step he took covered a large surface of ground."



All he told to old Nokomis,
When he reached the lodge at sunset,
Was the meeting with his father,
Was his fight with Mudjekeewis;
Not a word he said of arrows,
Not a word of Laughing Water!"⁷⁷

There is no question in my mind but what this beautiful picture Longfellow draws of Hiawatha was suggested to him by reading this rather prosaic narrative of Schoolcraft: "He saw the old artificer at work, and so discovered his process. He also beheld the old man's daughter, and perceived that she was very Beautiful. He felt his breast beat with a new sensation and emotion, but said nothing."⁷⁸

So much for Canto IV. In the following Canto we read about Hiawatha's fasting, about how he secures corn from Mondamin for his fellow-men, through a severe seven day abstinence from food and a great physical combat with the heavenly messenger. Here again the poet leaves the old tradition of Manabozho and introduces another Indian character named Wunzh. This latter personage is styled Hiawatha in the poem, simply to bring out the suggestion of Hiawatha's great work for humanity. The basis for Longfellow's Canto is Schoolcraft's History, from which I shall quote a few extracts to show the close parallel between the poem and its source. In the former we read:

"First he built a lodge for fasting,
Built a wigwam in the forest,

77. Hiawatha, Canto IV, Lines 252-299.

78. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, I, 148.

By the shining Big-Sea-Water,
In the blithe and pleasant Spring-time."⁷⁹

In the History, III, 231-232, Schoolcraft writes, "As soon as the first indication of spring appeared, they built him the customary little lodge at a retired spot, some distance from their own, where he would not be disturbed during this solemn rite."

Longfellow continues:

"On the fourth of his fasting,
In his lodge he lay exhausted;
From his couch of leaves and branches
Gazing with his half-open eyelids,
And he saw a youth approaching,
Dressed in garments green and yellow,
Coming through the purple twilight,
Through the splendor of the sunset;
Plumes of green bent o'er his forehead,
And his hair was soft and golden."⁸⁰

These lines of the poet convey the same impression as those of Schoolcraft, when he relates that, "On the third day he became weak and faint, and kept his bed. He fancied he saw, while thus lying, a youth coming down from the sky and advancing towards him. He was richly and gayly dressed, having on a great many garments of green and yellow colors, but differing in their deeper or lighter shades. He had a plume of waving feathers on his head, and all his motions were graceful."⁸¹

79. Hiawatha, Canto V, Lines 9-12.

80. Hiawatha, Canto V, Lines, 54-57; 62-67.

81. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, I, 124.



Later in the poem we read, "Standing at the open doorway, Long he looked at Hiawatha,
And in accents like the sighing
Of the South-Wind in the tree-tops,
Said he, 'O my Hiawatha',
All your prayers are heard in heaven
For you pray not like the others;
Not for greater skill in hunting,
Not for greater craft in fishing,
Not for triumph in the battle,
Nor reknown among the warriors,
But for profit of the people,
For the advantage of the nations."⁸²

In the Algic Researches, I, 124, Schoolcraft writes, "I am sent to you, my friend," said the celestial visitor, 'by that Great Spirit who made all things in the sky and on the earth. He sees that it is from a kind and benevolent wish that you want to do good to your people, and to procure for them a benefit, and that you do not seek for strength in war or the praise of warriors.'"

Then we see how the divine messenger gives instructions to Hiawatha as to the method of burying him, how to prepare the soil for his reception. We note, too, how for seven days these two men, Hiawatha and Mondamin, struggle for the supremacy, and the final downfall of the latter. Longfellow continues:

"Day by day did Hiawatha
Go to wait and watch beside it;

82. Hiawatha, Canto V, Lines 68-82.



Kept the dark mould soft above it,
Kept it clean from weeds and insects,
Drove away, with scoffs and shoutings,
Kahgahgee, the king of ravens."⁸³

Schoolcraft writes, "But never for a moment forgot the grave of his friend. He carefully visited it throughout the spring and weeded out the grass, and kept the ground in a soft and pliant state."⁸⁴

One more parallel will suffice to show the close resemblance between this portion of the poem and the original source. This passage records the result of Hiawatha's careful watching of the plot of ground:

"Till at length a small green feather,
From the earth shot slowly upward,
Then another and another,
And before the Summer ended,
Stood the maize in all its beauty,
With its shining robes about it,
And its long, soft, yellow tresses;
And in rapture Hiawatha
Cried aloud, 'It is Mondamin!
Yes, the friend of man, Mondamin!'"⁸⁵

In the original source we read, "Very soon he saw the tops of the green plumes coming through the ground. The lodge had been removed, and the weeds kept from growing on the circle where it stood, but in its place stood a tall and graceful plant, with

83. Hiawatha, Canto V, Lines 256-261.

84. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, I, 127.

85. Hiawatha, Canto V, Lines 262-271.



bright-colored silken hair, surrounded with nodding plumes and stately leaves, and golden clusters on each side. 'It is Mondamin,' shouted the boy: 'It is my friend, the friend of all mankind.'"⁸⁶

Earlier in this paper I stated that I should try to account for each incident used by the poet in composing his poem. But I shall not attempt to point out all these parallels in detail. In some instances I shall suggest only the actual sources, thus leaving the reader to glance through these sources and see for himself the close resemblance between the original source and the poet's version. For example, Hiawathâ's friends are mentioned by Schoolcraft in his works. Lines 72-169, which relate the wonderful work of one of these friends, Kwasind, the strong man, are based on a narrative found in the Algic Researches, II, 161-163.

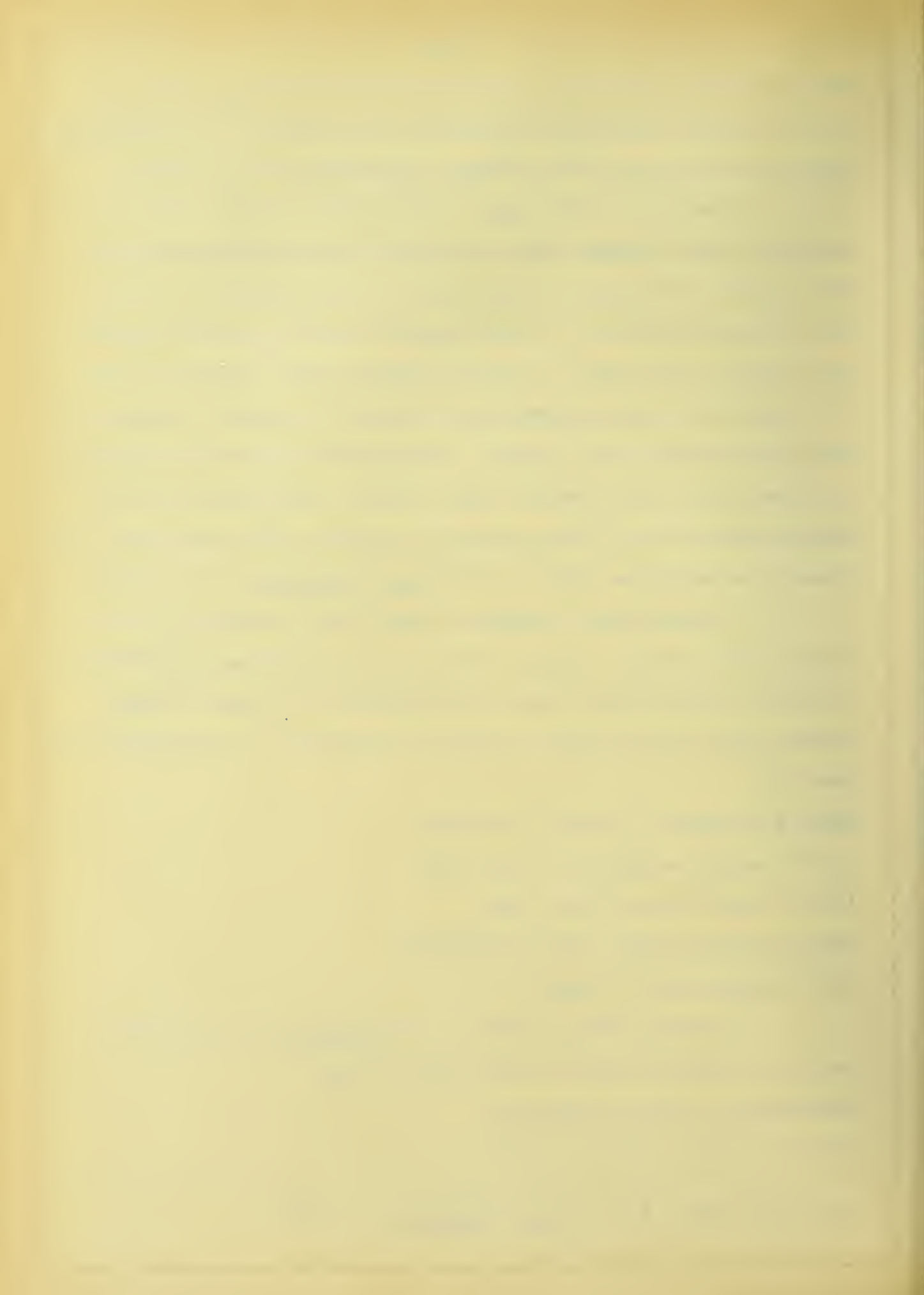
The Chibiabos incident, lines 18-65, finds no parallel in any of the Indian legends that have come under my observation. In these lines the poet tells how Chibiabos, the sweet singer, charms every one with whom he comes in contact, or, as Longfellow puts it;

"When he sang, the village listened;
All the warriors gathered round him;
All the women came to hear him;
Now he stirred their souls to passion,
Now he melted them to pity."

We shall have to look to the Kalevala for our poet's source for these lines. In that epic we find:

"Wäinämöinen, ancient minstrel,
Played one day, and then second,

86. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, I, 128.



Played the third from morn till even.
There was neither man nor woman,
Neither ancient dame nor maiden,
Not in Metsola a daughter,
Whom he did not touch to weeping;
Wept the mothers, wept the daughters,
Wept the warriors and the heroes,
At the music of his playing,
At the songs of the magician."⁸⁷

As Longfellow tells how the birds listened to the
sweet music of Chibiabos, so the poets in Kalevala picture how the
"Eagles in their lofty eyrie,
Hear the songs of the enchanter;
Swift they left their unfledged young ones,
Flew and perched around the minstrel;
From their heights the hawks descended,
From the clouds down swooped the falcon,
Ducks arose from the inland waters,
Swans came gliding from the marshes;
Tiny finches, green and golden,
Flew in flocks that darkened sunlight,
Came in myriads to listen,
Perched upon the head and shoulders
Of the charming Wäinämöinen,
Sweetly singing to the playing
Of the ancient bard and minstrel."⁸⁸

87. Crawford's Kalevala, Rune XLI, P. 610.

88. Crawford's Kalevala, Rune XLI, P. 607.



Chapter III.

In the Cantos mentioned thus far, Longfellow has told us about the birth of Hiawatha, his struggle with his father, Mudjekeewis, his fasting and the securing of corn for his people, and the mighty works of the sweet singer, Chibiabos, and of the strong man, Kwasind. In the following Cantos, VII, VIII, and IX, which I shall discuss in this present chapter, the poet relates the curious way in which Hiawatha constructed his boat, how the Indian hero overcame the mighty sturgeon, and his fearful combat with the Pearl-Feather. The first of these incidents, that of Hiawatha's boat-building, is based almost entirely on a narrative found in the Kalevala. Lines 107-113, however, are the result of a suggestion the poet received in Schoolcraft's History; "He had a canoe which would move without paddles. It was only necessary to will it, to compel it to go. With this he ascended the streams and lakes."⁸⁹

The close of this Canto* is likewise based on an incident given by Schoolcraft in his Algic Researches, II, 162-163. Here Longfellow, like his source, relates how Kwasind clears the streams for Hiawatha, thus making it possible for him to "Make a passage for the people,
From its springs among the mountains,
To the waters of Pauwating,
To the bay of Tayquamenaw."⁹⁰

Let us now examine the passages in the Kalevala, to see

89. Schoolcraft, H.R., History, Condition, & Prospects, III, 314.

90; Hiawatha, Canto VII, Lines 137-140.

*Schoolcraft relates, He accompanied his father on a hunting trip into a remote forest. They came to a place where the wind had



how they offered our author the suggestion for the Chibiabos incident, related in lines 1-106. The opening lines of the Canto read thus:

"Give me of your bark, O Birch-Tree!
Of your yellow bard, O Birch-Tree!
Growing by the rushing river,
Tall and stately in the valley!
Lay aside your cloak, O Birch-Tree!
Lay aside your white-skin wrapper,
For the summer time is coming,
And the sun is warm in heaven,
And you need no white-skin wrapper."

In the Kalevala we find that Sampsa starts out to seek wood for Wäinämöinen's boat. He approaches the aspen, who speaks these words:

"This indeed, the needed service
That I ask of thee, O aspen;
Need thy lumber for a vessel,
For the boat of Wäinämöinen,
Wisest of the wisdom-singers."⁹¹

The tone of these passages is somewhat similar, but the replies of the two, the birch-tree and the aspen, differ greatly. In the Kalevala the aspen says, "All the boats that have been fashioned

From my wood have proved but failures." The reply in Hiawatha is much more favorable; "Take my cloak, O Hiawatha."

thrown a great many trees into a narrow pass. 'We must go the other way,' said the old man, 'it is impossible to get the burdens through

91. Kalevala, Rune XVI, P. 225.



The Indian hero then goes to the Cedar and says to him,
"Give me of your boughs, O Cedar!
Of your strong and pliant branches,
My canoe to make more steady,
Make more strong and firm beneath me!"⁹²
Sampsä, likewise, goes to another kind of tree. This time he addresses the pine tree. "Will thy trunk give worthy timber,
For the boat of Väinämöinen,
Wiseest of the wisdom-singers?"⁹³

Again we note the difference in the replies of each. The Cedar responds; "Take my boughs, O Hiawatha, "Take my boughs O Hiawatha," while the pine-tree says;
"All the ships that have been fashioned
From my body are unworthy;
I am full of imperfections,
Cannot give thee needed timber
Wherewithal to build thy vessel."

So the analogy goes on. Hiawatha continues to address the various trees in the forest, and each agrees to give up what is wanted, until at last Hiawatha has his materials for his boat. In the Kalevala we see Pelterwoinen does not give up his search for materials. At last he comes to the old oak. This noble tree addresses him thus:

"I for thee will gladly furnish
Wood to build the hero's vessel;

this place.' But Kwasind lifted away the largest pine trees, and pulled them out of the path."

92.The quotations from Hiawatha are all found in Canto VII, L.1-38.

93.The quotations from the Kalevala given in Rune XVI, P.225-226.



I am tall and sound, and hardy,
Have no flaws within my body.'"

These passages show clearly the resemblance between the two poems. They certainly illustrate Longfellow's indebtedness to the Kalevala. But this latter epic does not offer much to the poet in his next Canto. Here we find the story of Hiawatha's fishing, how he goes forth to destroy the sturgeon, and how, in turn, he is almost vanquished by this mighty fish. The entire Canto is based on some incidents recorded in the Algic Researches. I shall mention just a few parallels, in order to establish my contention that the poet used these incidents for his Canto. In the first place, we find, in both instances, that Hiawatha sets forth to catch the sturgeon, Hahma, so that he may have oil for himself and his grandmother. Longfellow says:

"Forth upon the Gitchie Gumee,
With his fishing-line of cedar,
Of the twisted bark of cedar,
In his birch canoe exulting
All alone went Hiawatha."⁹⁴

Schoolcraft relates: "'Well, 'said he, 'Noko, get cedar bark and make me a little line, whilst I make a canoe.' When all was ready, he went out to the middle of the lake to fish."⁹⁵

Both authors then tell how Hiawatha goes out into the lake to search for the great sturgeon, how at Hiawatha's call the sturgeon sends others to take the line that has been thrown to him. We see, too, that Hiawatha is not content with the trout and the sunfish. At length the mighty fish himself takes up the challenge. In the terms of the poet we read:

94. Hiawatha, Canto VIII, Lines 1-5.

95. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, I, 144.



"And again the mighty sturgeon, Hahma,
Heard the shout of Hiawatha,
Heard his challenge of defiance,
The unnecessary tumult,
Ringing far across the water."⁹⁶

Nahma rises to the surface of the lake and there has a terrible conflict with Hiawatha, who would have been overcome but for the timely help of the squirrel. Two parallel passages will suffice to show the close resemblance in the two works. Longfellow writes:

"Down into that darksome cavern
Plunged the headlong Hiawatha,
As a log on some black river
Shoots and plunges down the rapids,
Found himself in utter darkness,
Groped about in helpless wonder,
Till he felt a great heart beating,
Throbbing in that utter darkness.
And he smote it in his anger,
With his fist, the heart of Nahma,
Felt the mighty King of Fishes
Shudder through each nerve and fibre,
Heard the water gurgle round him
As he leaped and staggered through it,
Sick at heart, and faint and weary."⁹⁷

In the Algie Researches Schoolcraft relates; "He now turned his thoughts to the way of making his escape. Looking in his

96. Hiawatha, Canto VIII, Lines 109-113.

97. Hiawatha, Canto VIII, Lines 123-137.



canoe, he saw his war-club, with which he immediately struck the heart of the fish. He then felt a sudden motion, as if he were moving with great velocity. The fish observed to others, 'I am sick at my stomach for having swallowed this dirty fellow, Manabozho.'"⁹⁸

Similarly, in the following passages this close parallel is equally apparent. Longfellow says;

"He was standing near the wigwam,
On the margin of the water,
And he called to old Nokomis,
Called and beckoned to Nokomis,
Pointed to the sturgeon, Nahma,
Lying lifeless on the pebbles,
With sea-gulls feeding on him."⁹⁹

In the Algic Researches Schoolcraft records; "The spot where the fish happened to be driven ashore was near his lodge. He went up and told his grandmother to prepare as much oil as she wanted. All besides, he informed her, he should keep for himself."¹⁰⁰

These extracts show fully, I think, the poet's indebtedness to the Indian legends for this particular incident in the poem. This indebtedness continues to be manifest as we go through the succeeding Cantos. For example, in the ninth Canto we find a number of incidents that have been taken from Schoolcraft, and have been made over into the poetical form. When we discount this poetical form, we have virtually the same narratives as those given in the Algic Researches. To be specific: Hiawatha's

98. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, I, 145.

99. Hiawatha, Canto VIII, Lines 194-201.

100. Schoolcraft, H.R. Algic Researches, I, 146.



grandmother tells him that the Megissogwon, the Pearl-Feather, slew her father. She wishes him to seek vengeance on this monster. After several directions are given, Hiawatha starts out; he has a hard combat with the fiery serpents, who try to defeat him and destroy him. After his contest with them, he fights the real enemy, Megissogwon, and finally conquers him through the aid given him by the woodpecker, who suggests to Hiawatha to shoot at the exposed head of the Pearl-Feather. Practically all of these incidents just mentioned have been taken from the Algic Researches, where the author writes, "She told him that his grandfather, who had come to the earth in search for her, had been killed by Megissogwon, who lived on the opposite side of the lake."¹⁰¹

At another place he says, "Hiawatha traveled rapidly night and day, for he had only to will or speak, and the canoe went. At length he arrived in sight of the fiery serpents. He stopped to view them. He saw they were some distance apart, and that the flame only which issued from them reached across the path."¹⁰²

Concerning Hiawatha's battle with the Pearl-Feather, Schoolcraft records; "The combat lasted all day. Manabozho's arrows had no effect, for his antagonist was clothed with pure wampum. He was now reduced to three arrows, and it was only by extraordinary agility that he could escape the blows which the Manito kept making at him. At that moment a large woodpecker flew past and lit on a tree. 'Manabozho,' he cried, 'your adversary has a vulnerable point; shoot at the lock of hair on the crown of his head.' Manabozho shot his first arrow so as only to draw blood from that

101. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, I, 144.

102. Ibid, I, 151.



part."¹⁰³ In the end, however, the Manito is killed, and Mana-bozho takes his scalp home to show to his grandmother.

In this Canto we find also a suggestion of the Kalevala. For example, in the Indian Edda we hear Nokomis saying:

"He, the mightiest of Magicians,
Sends the fever from the marshes,
Sends the pestilential vapors,
Sends the poisonous exhalations,
Sends the white fog from the fen-lands,
Sends disease and death among us."¹⁰⁴

In the Finnish poem we learn that Lowyatar has given birth to the nine diseases:

"Thus Lowyatar named her offspring,
Colic, Pleurisy, and Fever,
Ulcer, Plague, and dread Consumption,
Gout, Sterility, and Cancer.
And the worst of these nine children
Blind Lowyatar quickly banished,
Drove away as an enchanter,
To bewitch the lowland people,
To engender strife and envy."¹⁰⁵

In Hiawatha I read:

"Take your bow, O Hiawatha,
Take your arrows, jasper-headed,
Slay this merciless magician,
Save the people from the fever."¹⁰⁶

103. Ibid, I, 153.

104. Hiawatha, Canto IX, Lines 35-40.

105. Kalevala, Rune XLV, P. 654.

106. Hiawatha, Canto IX, Lines 41-43; 49-50.



This is somewhat the same cry that the people in the
Kalevala make to Ukko, their God:

"'Ukko, thou who art in heaven,
Hasten hither, thou art needed,
Come thou to thy child in trouble,
Help the nopeless and afflicted.'"¹⁰⁷

Chapter IV.

As we pass from Canto to Canto we cannot help but be reminded of an entry Longfellow made in his Journal: "Into this old tradition (meaning the Hiawatha tradition) I have woven other cruious Indian legends." At every step of the way some new phase of Hiawatha's character asserts itself, or some legend is inserted to give some new trait of character to him. In the chapter just closed we saw Hiawatha assuming the role of benefactor, for he destroyed the monster sturgeon that had caused so much trouble to his grandmother. The poet does not limit himself to the field of Indian narratives and Indian characters to round out the life of Hiawatha. At times he clothes Hiawatha out in the garb of the Finnish hero, Wäinämöinen. This is especially noticeable in the next two Cantos, X and XI. These Cantos, in addition to the stories of the "Son of the Evening Star" and "Blessing the Corn-Fields", I wish to discuss in this present chapter.

As I have already intimated, Canto X, dealing with the wooing of Hiawatha, is based, for the most part, on the Finnish epic. Practically, the only suggestion Longfellow received from Schoolcraft is seen in these words: "Having accomplished his victory over the reptiles, Manabozho returned to his former place of dwelling and married the arrow-maker's daughter."¹⁰⁸

In this Canto Hiawatha wishes to wed some one outside of his tribe. But Nokomis demurs, for she believes that this will bring calamity upon the tribe. She tries all manner of pursuasion, but all to no avail, for Hiawatha is determined to wed the arrow-maker's daughter. This incident finds a parallel in the

108. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, I, 170.



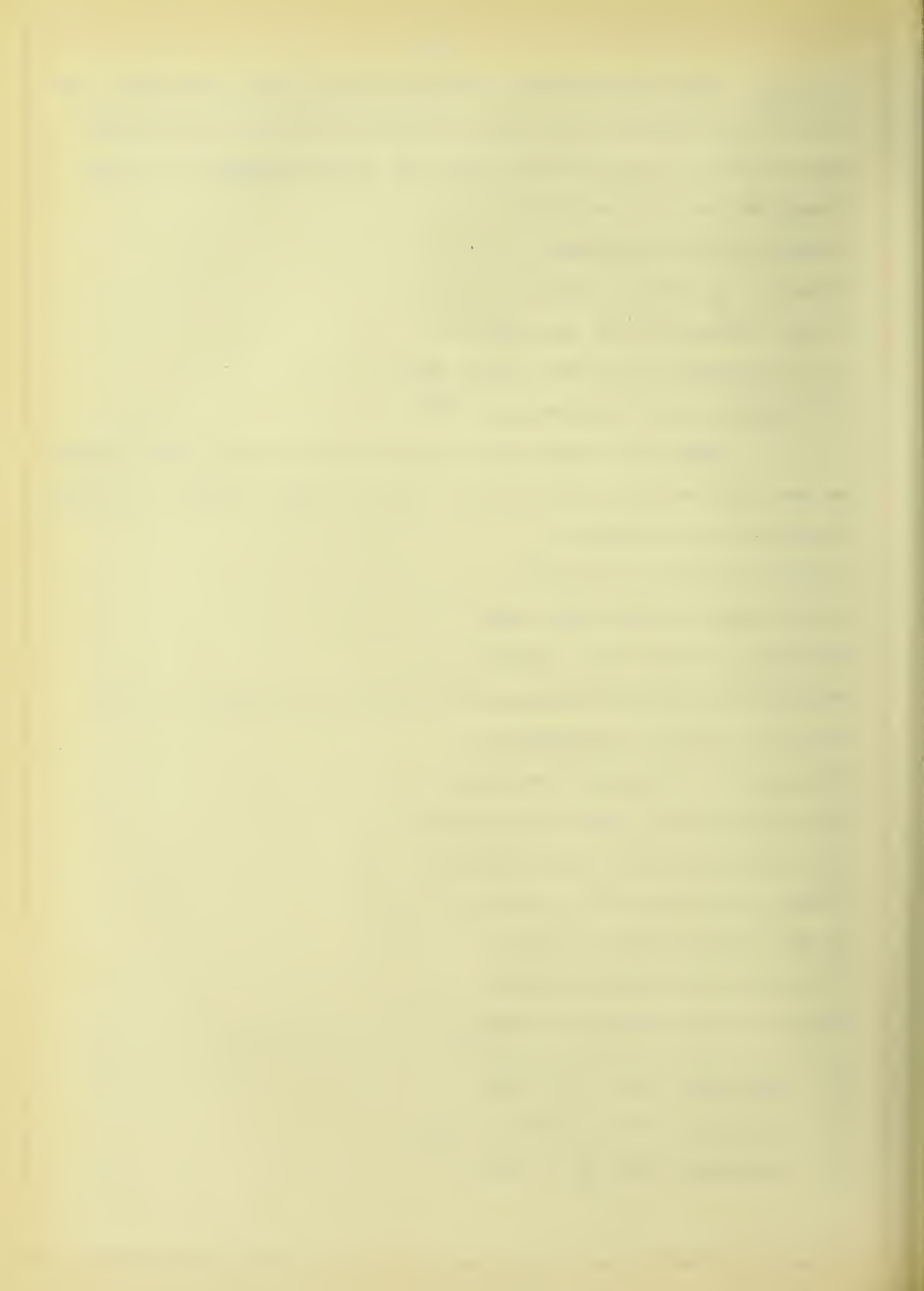
Kalevala, where Lemminkainen wishes to do the same thing that our Indian hero desires to do. He, too, is told of the direful misfortune that is sure to fall upon him. In the Kalevala we read;
"Lemminkainen, son beloved,
Listen to advice maternal:
Do not go to distant Sahri,
To her tribes of many branches;
All the maidens there will taunt thee,
All the women will deride thee."¹⁰⁹

After; both have gone against the advice of their elders we see both setting out for their lovers' homes. Longfellow writes:
"Thus departed Hiawatha
To the land of the Dacotahs,
To the land of beautiful women;
Striding over moor and meadow,
Through uninterrupted silence."¹¹⁰ In the other poem we have:
"Nothing heeding, Lemminkainen,
Heeding not his mother's warning,
Led his war-horse from the stables,
Quickly hitched the fiery charger,
Fleetly drove upon his journey,
To the distant Sahri-village,
There to woo the Sahri-flower,
There to win the Bride of Beauty."¹¹¹

109. Kalevāla, Rune V, P. 145.

110. Hiawatha, Canto X, Lines 56-61.

111. Kalevala, Rune XI, P. 146.



In the same manner we find both of the women suggesting what sort of wives our heroes should take. For example, the Finnish youth was urged thus:

"'From the honest homes of Suomi,
One of Northland's honest daughters
Take for thee a life-companion;
She will charm thee with her sweetness,
Make thee happy through her goodness.'"112

In Hiawatha, Nokomis says:

"'Wed a maiden of your people,
Go not eastward, go not westward,
For a stranger, whom you know not!
Like a fire upon the hearth-stone
Is a neighbor's daughter,
Like the star-light or the moonlight
Is the handsomest of Strangers.'"113

One parallel more, and I shall leave this Canto. By comparing the two poems we learn that each hero reaches his destination and finds the object of his search. After much discussion both of the maidens agree to join their lovers, thus leaving behind their relatives and loved ones. Each of the maidens has a different reply to make.

"'O thou Ahti, son of Lempo,
Will thou take this trusting maiden,
As thy faithful life-companion,
Take me under thy protection,

112. Kalevala, Rune V, P. 75.

113. Hiawatha, Canto X, Lines 13-20.



Be to me a faithful husband?'"

In Hiawatha, the incident is more solemn, with few words spoken. Minnehaha, after Hiawatha's urgent appeal to the father and to her, replies simply: "'I will follow you, my husband.'"

In the following Canto, where Longfellow describes the wedding-feast of Hiawatha, we have several threads of incidents for which we must account. Schoolcraft furnished the narratives concerning Chibiabos and Pau-Puk-Keewis. These incidents are found in the Algic Researches, I, Pp. 200-221. As I shall later have occasion to speak of these Indian characters, I shall not point out, at this time, any of the parallels between Schoolcraft and the poem. At present I shall content myself with the suggestions Longfellow received from the Kalevala.

In Rune XX of the Kalevala we find these lines:

"'O my trusted, truthful maiden,
Servant-maid to me belonging,
Call together all my people,
Urge them to my daughter's wedding.'"
In Hiawatha we have a close parallel:
"She had sent through all the village
Messengers with wands of willow,
As a sign of invitation,
As a token of the feasting.'"¹¹⁵

Again we note this marked similarity:

"Then the hostess of Pohyola
Served her guests in great abundance,

115. Hiawatha, Canto XI, Lines 19-22.

Richest drinks and rarest viands.'"116

"Sumptuous was the feast Nokomis

Made at Hiawatha's wedding.'"117

Then, to cap the climax of the feast, each poem relates how the singer of each is called upon to render some of his choice music. "'Sing to us, O Chibiabos,

Songs of love and songs of longing,

That the feast may be more joyous,

That the time may pass more gayly,

And our guests be more contented!'"118

In the Kalevala Louhi cries out:

"'Ask the ancient Wäinämöinen,

Famous bard and wisdom-singer.'"119

Thus far the two poems are closely related, as regards the wedding-feast and songs. But Longfellow now introduces a new figure, that of Iagoo, the wonderful story-teller. As the feast is drawing to a close, and Chibiabos has performed his part, Iagoo is called upon to relate some wonderful incident. He responds by telling his audience the story of the "Son of the Evening Star", which forms the basis of Canto XII. This entire Canto is the result of a narrative Schoolcraft has recorded in his Algic Researches. As we study this narrative and the Canto based on it, we are struck with the close resemblance between the two. A few extracts will illustrate my point.

116. Kalevala, Rune XXI, Pp. 326-327.

117. Hiawatha, Canto X, Lines 13-14.

118. Hiawatha, Canto XI, Lines 129-132.

119. Kalevala, Rune XX, P. 317.



At the outset of the Canto the poet tells about a hunter in the far north who had ten daughters. These comely girls married men of their rank, except the youngest. This daughter cared nothing for the suggestions of her sisters, but married an old man, poor and ugly. In the language of the poet we read:

"'In the North-land lived a hunter,
With ten young and comely daughters,
Tall and lithe as wands of willow;
Only Oweenee, the youngest,
She the wilful and the wayward,
She the silent, dreamy maiden,
Was the fairest of the sisters.
All these women married husbands;
Only Oweenee, the youngest,
Laughed and flouted all her lovers,
All her young and handsome suitors,
And then married old Osseo,
Old Osseo, poor and ugly,
Broken with age and weak with coughing,
Always coughing like a squirrel.'"¹²⁰

The source for such a passage is quite evident when read in Schoolcraft: "There once lived an Indian in the north, who had ten daughters, all of whom grew to womanhood. They were noted for their beauty, but especially Oweenee, the youngest, who was very independent in her way of thinking. She was a great admirer of romantic places, and paid very little attention to the numerous young men who came to her father's lodge for the purpose

120. Hiawatha, Canto XII, Lines 34-49.



of seeing her. Her older sisters were all solicited in marriage from their parents, and one after another, went off to dwell in the lodges of their husbands, or mothers-in-law, but Oweenee would listen to no proposal of the kind. At last she married an old man called Osseo, who was scarcely able to walk, and was too poor to have things like others."¹²¹

Both authors relate how the youngest sister and her husband were subjected to ridicule and scorn. They tell, also, how the old man was turned into a youth, and how the beautiful girl was changed into an old woman; also, how, in each case, the lovers remained true to each other, in spite of the laughter of the others. Each of the writers relates the incident about the cage containing the birds, how these birds were let loose, to assume their original shape.

To conclude this narrative I quote an extract from each author. Longfellow writes:

"When her blood fell upon the planet,
On the sacred Star of Evening,
Broken was the spell of magic,
Powerless was the strange enchantment,
And the youth, the fearless bowman,
Suddenly felt himself descending,
Held by unseen hands, but sinking
Downward through the empty spaces,
Downward through the clouds and vapors,
Till he rested on an island,
On an island, green and grassy,

121. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, II, P. 152.

Yonder in the Big-Sea-Water.

"'After him he saw descending
All the birds with shining feathers,
Fluttering, falling, wafted downward,
Like the painted leaves of Autumn;
And the lodge with poles of silver,
with its roof like wings of beetles,
Like the shining shards of beetles,
By the winds of heaven uplifted,
Slowly sank upon the island,
Bringing back the good Osseo,
Bringing Oweenee, the faithful.'"¹²²

In Schoolcraft's story we read; "The moment the blood fell upon the surface of that pure and spotless planet, the charm was dissolved. The boy immediately found himself sinking, but was partly upheld, by something like wings, till he passed through the lower clouds, and he suddenly dropped upon a high, romantic island in a large lake. He was pleased, on looking up, to see all his aunts and uncles following him in the form of birds, and he soon discovered the silver lodge, with his father and mother, descending with its waving barks looking like so many insects' gilded wings."¹²³

At the opening of this Canto the poet speaks of the Red Swan. This incident is mentioned in detail in the Algic Researches, vol. II, P.9. Then, after he has related the story of the Evening Star, Longfellow closes the Canto with a short reference to Iagoo

122. Hiawatha, Canto XX, Lines 280-302.

123. Schoolcraft, H.R., Algic Researches, II, 158-159.

and Chibiabos. These personages have already been spoken of in a previous incident, Algic Researches, Vol. I, P. 229.

As a rule, it has been easy to account for the incidents used in the Hiawatha. In practically every case the poet has secured his material from two main sources, the Kalevala and Schoolcraft's Works. This apparent obviousness of sources for the narratives is not so noticeable in Cantos XIII and XIV. The first of these, The Blessing of the Cornfields, seems to have its origin in some superstition the Indians held concerning the growing of their corn crops. To illustrate, Schoolcraft writes: "It is well known that corn-planting and corn-gathering, at least among the still uncolonized tribes, are left entirely to the females and children, and a few superannuated men. It is not generally known, perhaps, that this labor is not compulsory, and that it is assumed by the females as a just equivalent, in their view, for the onerous and continuous labor of the other sex in providing meats and skins, by the chase, and in defending their villages against their enemies and keeping intruders off their territories. A good Indian wife deems this a part of her prerogative, and prides herself to have a store of corn to exercise her hospitality, or duly honor her husband's hospitality, in the entertainment of the lodge guests."¹²⁴

The following lines seem to have their origin in an account recorded in the Oneota:

"You shall bless tonight the corn-fields,
Draw a magic circle around them,
To protect them from destruction." At least Schoolcraft relates:

124. Schoolcraft, H.R., Oneota, P. 82.

"A singular proof of the belief, in both sexes, of the mysterious influence of the steps of a woman on the vegetable and insect creation, is found in an ancient custom which was related to me respecting corn-planting. It was the practice of the hunter's wife, when the field of corn had been planted, to choose the first dark night to perform a secret circuit, sans habillement, around the field. For this purpose, she slipped out of the lodge in the evening, unobserved, to some obscure nook, where she completely disrobed. Then taking her matchecota, or principal garment, in one hand, she dragged it around the field. This was thought to insure a prolific crop, and to prevent the assaults of insects over the charmed line."¹²⁵.

Perhaps two references more will suffice to suggest the poet's sources for this narrative. Lines 209-227 tell us the little incident of the significance of finding red ears or crooked ears. Schoolcraft, our source for this incident, says; "If one of the young female huskers finds a red ear of corn, it is typical of a brave admirer, and is regarded as a fitting present to some warrior. But if the ear be crooked and tapering to a point, no matter what the color, the whole circle is set in a roar, and Wagemin is the word shouted aloud. It is the symbol of a thief in the cornfield. It is considered as the image of an old man stooping as he enters the lot."¹²⁶ The song sung at this time runs thus:

Cereal Chorus. "Wagemin! Wagemin!

Thief in the blade,

Blight of the Cornfield.

Paimosaid."

125. Schoolcraft, H.R., Oneota, P.83.

126. Schoolcraft, H.R., Oneota, P. 254.



Recitative. "See you not traces, while pulling the leaf,
Plainly depicting the taker and thief?
See you not signs by the ring and the spot,
How the man crouched as he crept in the pot?
Is it not plain by this mark on the stalk,
That he was heavily bent in his walk?
Old man be nimble! the old should be good,
But thou art a cowardly thief of the wood."¹²⁷

Lastly, lines 190-209 are based on this simple statement: "But if corn-planting be done in a lively and satisfied and not in a slavish spirit, corn-gathering and husking is a season of decided thankfulness and merriment. At these gatherings, the chiefs and old men are mere spectators, although they are pleased spectators, the young only sharing in the sports."¹²⁸

127. Schoolcraft, H.R., Red Men of America, Pp. 181-182.

128. Schoolcraft, H.R., Oneota, P. 83-84.

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Chapter V.

Perhaps one of the most difficult Cantos to account for, as far as sources are concerned, is Canto XIV, where Longfellow tells about the writing of pictures, how Hiawatha, in the language of the poem:

"From his pouch he took his colors,
Took his paints of different colors,
On the Smooth bark of a birch-tree
Painted many shapes and figures,
Wonderful and mystic figures,
And each figure had a meaning,
Each some word or thought suggested."

We cannot decide definitely what material Longfellow used. We have, however, many references, found in all the texts on the Indians. Brinton, for example, writes, "The number of such arbitrary characters in the Chipeway notation is said to be over two hundred, but if the distinction between a figure and a symbol were rigidly applied, it would be much reduced. This kind of writing, if it deserves the name, was common throughout the continent, and many specimens of it, scratched on the plane surfaces of stones, have been preserved to the present."¹²⁹

Practically the only connection between Hiawatha and picture writing is seen in these words of Schoolcraft: "Manabozho was the author of arts and improvements. He taught men how to make axes, lances, and arrow-points, and all implements of bone and stone, and also how to make traps and nets to take animals, birds, and fishes."¹³⁰

¹²⁹. Brinton, D.G., Myths of the New world, New York, 1868, P.9.

¹³⁰. Schoolcraft's History, I, P. 317.

Haines, in commenting on this point, says, "Picture writing upon the skins of animals, or slips from the bark of trees, or other like materials, was the usual mode by which the Indians preserved and perpetuated their poetry or numerous songs in use by them on festive or ceremonial occasions."¹³¹

My only conclusion in the matter is that Longfellow may have taken the incident found in the History* and the general information about picture writing and cast these two into his Canto, thus giving Hiawatha the credit of knowing the art of writing and handing it down to those who were to come after him. Incidentally, I may add, that the whole story of the Canto applies admirably to our hero, who appears as a wise and beneficent leader of his people.

This vagueness as to source is not apparent in the following Canto. Here the poet tells how the evil spirits hated Chibiabos, how they tried to destroy him, and how they finally killed him and placed him under the ice. Then, when Hiawatha mourned so bitterly for him, these same evil spirits took pity on Hiawatha and restored Chibiabos to this earth again, not as a living reality, but as the Ruler of the Realm of the Dead. This incident comes clearly enough from Schoolcraft, when he writes: "The Manitos who live in the air, the earth, and the water, became jealous of their power (meaning Manabozho and Chibiabos) and conspired against them. Manabozho had warned his brother against their machinations, and cautioned him not to separate himself from his side; but one day Chibiabos ventured alone on one of the Great

131. Haines, E.M., The American Indian, Chicago, 1888, P. 48.

*Schoolcraft, in his Oneota, writes, "Pictures and symbols of this

REIGN OF HENRY THE SEVENTH

BY JOHN HALLAM

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME THE SECOND

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Lakes. It was winter, and the whole surface was covered with ice. As soon as he had reached the center the malicious Manitos broke the ice and plunged him to the bottom where they hid his body. Manabozho wailed along the shores. He waged a war against the Manitos, and precipitated numbers of them to the deepest abyss. He put the whole country in dread by his lamentations. He besmeared his face with black and sat down six years to lament. The Manitos finally decided to appease Manabozho. They procured the most delicious tobacco, and filled a pipe. Manabozho was cured; he ate, danced, sung, and smoked the sacred pipe. In this manner the mysteries of the grand Medicine Dance were introduced. The before recreant Manitos now all united their powers to bring Chibiabos back to life. They did so, and brought him to life, but it was forbidden him to enter the lodge. They gave him, through a chink, a burning coal, and told him to go and preside over the country of souls, there to reign over the dead. They bade him with the coal to kindle a fire for his aunts and uncles, a term by which is meant all men who should die thereafter, and make them happy, and let it be an everlasting fire."¹³²

this concludes the Chibiabos incident, and yet before

kind are now to be found only in the unreclaimed borders of the great area west of the Alleghanies and the Lakes, in the wide prairies of the west, or along the Missouri and the upper Mississippi. It is known that such devices were in use, to some extent, at the time of discovery among most of the tribes, situated between the latitudes of the Capes of Florida, and the Hudson's Bay, although they have been considered as more characteristic of the tribes of the Algonquin type. In a few instances, these pictorial inscriptions have been found to be painted or stained on the faces of rocks or on loose boulders. In some places we find figures and hieroglyphics invariably on the grave posts which mark the places of Indian sepulchre. Some inscribe them on the skins of the buffalo."

132. Schoolcraft's History, Condition, & Prospects, I, 317-318.

we leave this Canto, I should like to consider for a moment lines 187-195. To us these lines seem rather inappropriate, because they are spoken of in connection with an Indian.

"Four whole days he journeyed onward
Down the pathway of the dead men;
On the dead man's strawberry feasted,
Crossed the melancholy river,
On the swinging log he crossed it,-
Came unto the Lake of Silver,
In the Stone Canoe was carried
To the Islands of the Blessed,

To the land of ghosts and shadows."¹³³ Yet these words are spoken of an Indian, not as the poet conceived him, but as tradition has pictured him. Note the story which Schoolcraft relates: "There was a path that led to the land of souls, and he determined to follow it. He was guided only by the tradition that he must go south. Soon the air became mild; a pure field of blue was above him. At length he spied a path. Birds of beautiful plumage inhabited the groves, and sported in the waters. He noticed that his passage was not stopped by trees or other objects. He appeared to walk through them. They were, in fact, but the shadows of material trees. When he traveled half a day's journey, he came to the banks of a broad lake, in the center of which was a large and beautiful island. He found a canoe of shining white stone, tied to the shore. There were also shining paddles."¹³⁴

Later, in the same volume, P.41, Schoolcraft says, "Their war-songs frequently contain flights of the finest heroic sentiment clothed in the poetic imagery. Dancing is both an amusement and a religious
133. Hiawatha, Canto XV, 187-196.

134. Schoolcraft's Red Men of America, Pp. 79-80.



Thus far, for the most part, I have given much detailed information to show the parallels between Hiawatha and its sources. For a;time now I shall mention the sources only, without giving the contents of the sources. For example, in Canto XVI, as well as in Canto XVII, we read much about Pau-Puk-Keewis, who, because of his adventurous nature, comes into contact with Hiawatha. As a result, these two wage a bitter conflict, in which the latter comes off conqueror, finally destroying the former. Schoolcraft gives us a complete narrative of this incident in his Algic Researches, I, 200-221. The specific part Hiawatha plays in these Cantos is based on the incidents mentioned in the Researches, I, 216-220. This latter passage has to do almost entirely with the struggle between Manabozho and Pau-Puk-Keewis, in which the former destroys the latter.

Iagoo is again mentioned in these Cantos. As has been said before, Schoolcraft, in the Researches, II, 229-233, gives us a detailed account of his exploits, how he was known far and wide as the idle boaster, who was always ready to tell stories to amuse his audiences. One of these stories was about the Summer-Maker, Ojeeg. This incident, by the way, is also found in the Algic Researches, I, 57-66.

At an earlier point of the poem Longfellow told us that Hiawatha had two very dear friends, Chibiabos and Kwasind. We have seen how the first of these was destroyed by the evil Manitos, later brought back to life to live as the guardian of the death. In Canto XVIII, we find the poet sings for us the death of the other friend. As the Manitos wrought against Chibiabos, to deprive observance, among the Indians, and is known to contribute one of the most wide-spread traits in their manners and customs."

him of Hiawatha's love and friendship, so the Puk-Wudjies, styled Little People, conspired against Kwasind, because they considered him, "the audacious, over-bearing, heartless, haughty, dangerous Kwasind." Like the Manitos, these little fellows succeeded in killing their victim, the object of their detestation. Longfellow's recital of this incident is based on Schoolcraft's account found in the Researches, II, 160-164. With one extract of each author I close the study of this Canto. The poet writes:

"But the memory of the Strong Man
Lingered long among the people,
And whenever through the forest,
Raged and roared the wintry tempest,
And the branches, tossed and troubled,
Creaked and groaned and split asunder,
'Kwasind!' cried they; 'that is Kwasind,
He is gathering in his fire-wood.'"¹³⁵

Schoolcraft relates: "In these storms, when each inmate of the lodge has his wrapper tightly drawn around him, and all are cowering around the cabin fire, should some sudden puff of wind drive a volume of light snow, it would surely happen that some one of the group would cry out, 'ah, Pauppukeewiss is now gathering his harvest.'"¹³⁶

At various intervals Longfellow has introduced certain incidents, bearing no particular relation to Hiawatha, into the poem. We can see clearly enough that the epic is composed of a series of narratives going to make up the entire whole. Another

135. Hiawatha, Canto XVIII, Lines 113-120.

136. Schoolcraft's Algic Researches, II, 123.

The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the various branches of industry and commerce. It is found that the country is in a state of general prosperity and that the various branches of industry and commerce are all making rapid progress. The second part of the report deals with the state of the various branches of industry and commerce. It is found that the various branches of industry and commerce are all making rapid progress. The third part of the report deals with the state of the various branches of industry and commerce. It is found that the various branches of industry and commerce are all making rapid progress. The fourth part of the report deals with the state of the various branches of industry and commerce. It is found that the various branches of industry and commerce are all making rapid progress. The fifth part of the report deals with the state of the various branches of industry and commerce. It is found that the various branches of industry and commerce are all making rapid progress. The sixth part of the report deals with the state of the various branches of industry and commerce. It is found that the various branches of industry and commerce are all making rapid progress. The seventh part of the report deals with the state of the various branches of industry and commerce. It is found that the various branches of industry and commerce are all making rapid progress. The eighth part of the report deals with the state of the various branches of industry and commerce. It is found that the various branches of industry and commerce are all making rapid progress. The ninth part of the report deals with the state of the various branches of industry and commerce. It is found that the various branches of industry and commerce are all making rapid progress. The tenth part of the report deals with the state of the various branches of industry and commerce. It is found that the various branches of industry and commerce are all making rapid progress.

illustration of this may be noted in the introduction of the Ghosts incident into the poem. In Canto XIX the author relates how two strangers come to Hiawatha's hut to partake of the best food set before them. Hiawatha has gone out, in mid-winter, to seek food, and while he is gone, these strangers enter, take a position back in the hut, speak to no one, but sit there silent and "crouch low among the shadows". As soon as Hiawatha returns with food, they come forth from their corner, seize the choicest portions of the food, eat ravenously, and return to their former places. This continues for several days. Hiawatha, however, never complains, but welcomes his mysterious guests with all courtesy. Only at night do the ghosts go forth from the hut. Then they gather wood for Minnehaha. At length, when Hiawatha catches them weeping, they open their lips to speak. They tell him they are the spirits of the departed, and they have come to advise him, to encourage him, and to try him to see if he has been faithful. Then they make their departure. This entire Canto is based on a narrative recorded by Schoolcraft in his Travels. Pp. 414-421, I shall give two or three extracts to show the close parallel between the poem and the source of the Canto. Longfellow writes:

"From their aspects and their garments,

Strangers seemed they in the village;

Very pale and haggard were they,

As they sat there sad and silent,

Trembling, cowering with the shadows." Schoolcraft relates: "The more closely she scrutinized their manners, their dress, and their studied deportment, the stronger was her conviction that they were strangers of no ordinary character. No efforts could induce them to come near the fire; they took seats in a remote part of the

lodge, and drew their garments about their persons in such a way as almost to hide their faces. They seemed shy and taciturn."¹³⁷

Again we,note this resemblance:

"When the evening meal was ready,
And the deer had been divided,
Both the pallid guests, the strangers,
Springing from among the shadows,
Seized upon the choicest portions,
Seized the white fat of the roebuck,
Without asking, without thanking,
Eagerly devoured the morsels,
Flitted back among the shadows
In the corner of the wigwam.
Not a word spake Hiawatha,
Not a motion made Nokomis,
Not a gesture Laughing Water;
Not a change came o'er their features."¹³⁸

"The moment he entered the lodge, the mysterious females exclaimed, 'Behold, what a fine and fat animal', and they immediately ran and pulled off pieces of the whitest meat, which they ate with avidity. As this meat was esteemed the best part of the animal, such a conduct appeared very strange to the hunter, but supposing that they had been a long time without food, he forbade to accuse them of rudeness, and his wife, taking example from the husband, was equally guarded in her language."¹³⁹

137. Schoolcraft, H.R., Travels in the Mississippi Valley, New York; 26, P. 414.

138. Hiawatha, Canto XIX, Lines 92-113.

139. Schoolcraft's Travels, P. 415.

To conclude, let us note the mission these strangers have to perform. The poet tells:

"We are ghosts of the departed,
Souls of those who once were with you;
Hither have we come to try you,
Hither have we come to warn you,
We have put you to the trial,
To the proof have put your patience;
We have found you great and noble."¹⁴⁰

In Schoolcraft we read, "We are spirits from the dead, sent upon the earth to try the sincerity of the living. Take our thanks, brother, for your hospitality. Regret not our departure. Fear not evil. Thy luck shall still prevail in the chase, and a bright sky shall be over thy lodge."¹⁴¹

This Canto does not deal with one specific incident. Towards the end of it the poet has introduced another legend.

"Do not lay such heavy burdens,
In the graves of those you bury,
Not such weight of furs and wampum,
Not such weight of pots and kettles,
For the spirits faint beneath them."¹⁴²

Touching this point* Schoolcraft says, "In former times, it is averred, the Chippeways, followed the custom of interring many articles with the dead, including, if the deceased was a male, his gun, trap, pipe, kettle, war-club, clothes, wampum, ornaments, and even a portion of food."¹⁴³

140. Hiawatha, Canto XIX, Lines 167-170; 209-211.

141. Schoolcraft's Travels, P. 418.

142. Hiawatha, Canto XIX, Lines 188-192.

143. Schoolcraft's Algic Researches, II, 127.

Chapter VI.

As we read in Schoolcraft's Travels the narrative of "The Ghosts", we see something prophetic in this tale when we link it with the story in Canto XX. In this Indian legend we read, "Still, you have the weaknesses of a mortal, and your wife is found wanting in our eyes. But it is not alone for you that we weep. It is for the fate of mankind."¹⁴⁴ I say prophetic, because we now deal with the famine and death in the home of Hiawatha. In this Canto the man goes forth to seek game. While he is gone, death comes stalking into the hovel where Minnehaha is lying sick. Before he can return, she dies. With true Indian fashion the husband mourns over her departure, crying out in his great grief: Farewell, O my Laughing Water!

All my heart is buried with you,
All my thoughts go onward with you;
Come not back again to labor,
Come not back again to suffer,
Where the Famine and the Fever
Wear the heart and waste the body."¹⁴⁵

The source for this Canto, if we exclude the prophetic suggestion, may be found in the Algic Researches, where the author writes; "After Manabozho had killed the Prince of Serpents, he was living in a state of great want, completely deserted by his power as a deity, and not able to procure the ordinary means of subsistence. He was at this time living with his wife and children, in a remote part of the country, where he could get no game. He was miserably poor. It was winter, and he had not the common

144. Schoolcraft's Travels, P. 418.

145. Hiawatha, Canto XX, Lines 168-175.

Indian comforts."¹⁴⁶

The death of Minnehaha marks really the turning-point in the poem. Life, apparently, now no longer has any joys for Hiawatha. While Iagoo, the Boaster, tells the tale of the "White Man's Foot", Hiawatha sits quietly by. At the close of the tale he says, in answer to their jeering and boasting:

"'True is all Iagoo tells you;
I have seen it in a vision,
Seen the great canoe with pinions,
Seen the people with white faces,
People of the wooded vessel
From the regions of the morning."¹⁴⁷

These lines, I take it, are suggestive of what is to follow in the final Canto, where Hiawatha says farewell to this world and goes to "the shining land of Wabun". But before we consider this departure, let us examine the close resemblance between the story of "The White Man's Foot" as told by the poet and by Schoolcraft. In the poem we read:

"In his lodge beside a river,
Close beside a frozen river,
Sat an old man, sad and lonely.
White his hair was as a snow-drift;
Dull and low his fire was burning;
And the old man shook and trembled,
Folded in his Waubewyon,
In his tattered white-skin-wrapper,

146. Schoolcraft's Algic Researches, II, 217.

147. Schoolcraft's Algic Researches, II, 217.

Hearing nothing but the tempest
As it roared along the forest,
Seeing nothing but the snow-storm,
As it whirled and hissed and drifted."¹⁴⁸

Schoolcraft has this tradition: "An old man was sitting in his lodge by the side of a frozen river. It was the close of winter, and his fire was almost out. He appeared very old and very desolate. His locks were white with age, and he trembled in every joint. Day after day passed in solitude, and he heard nothing but the sounds of the tempest, sweeping before it the new-fallen snow."¹⁴⁹

In another parallel we see this resemblance:

"All the coals were white with ashes,
As a young man, walking lightly,
At the open doorway entered.
Red with blood of youth his cheeks were,
Soft his eyes, as stars in Spring-time,
Bound his forehead was with grasses,
Bound and plumed with scented grasses;
On his lips a smile of beauty,
Filling all the lodge with sunshine,
In his hand a bunch of blossoms,
Filling all the lodge with sweetness."

In the Algic Researches we read, "One day, as his fire was just dying, a handsome young man approached and entered his dwelling. His cheeks were red with the blood of youth, his eyes

148. Hiawatha, Canto XXI, Lines 1-12.

149. Schoolcraft's Algic Researches I, 84.



sparkled with animation, and a smile played upon his lips. His forehead was bound with a wreath of sweet grass, in place of warrior's frontlet, and he carried a bunch of flowers in his hands."¹⁵⁰

In the following passages, the resemblance is quite evident:

"'Ah, my son,' exclaimed the old man.
Happy are my eyes to see you.
Sit down on the mat beside me.
Let us pass the night together.
Tell me of your strange adventures,
Of the lands where you have
traveled.'"¹⁵¹

"'Ah, my son,' exclaimed the
old man, 'I am glad to see
you. Come in, come in. Tell me
of your adventures and what
strange lands you have been
to see. Let us pass the night
together.'"¹⁵²

"'I will tell you of my prowess,
Of my many deeds of wonder.'"

"'I will tell you of my prowess
and exploits.'"

"Filled the pipe with bark of willow
Gave it to his guest, the stranger."

"Having filled the pipe with
tobacco, rendered mild by the
mixture of certain leaves, he
handed it to his guest."

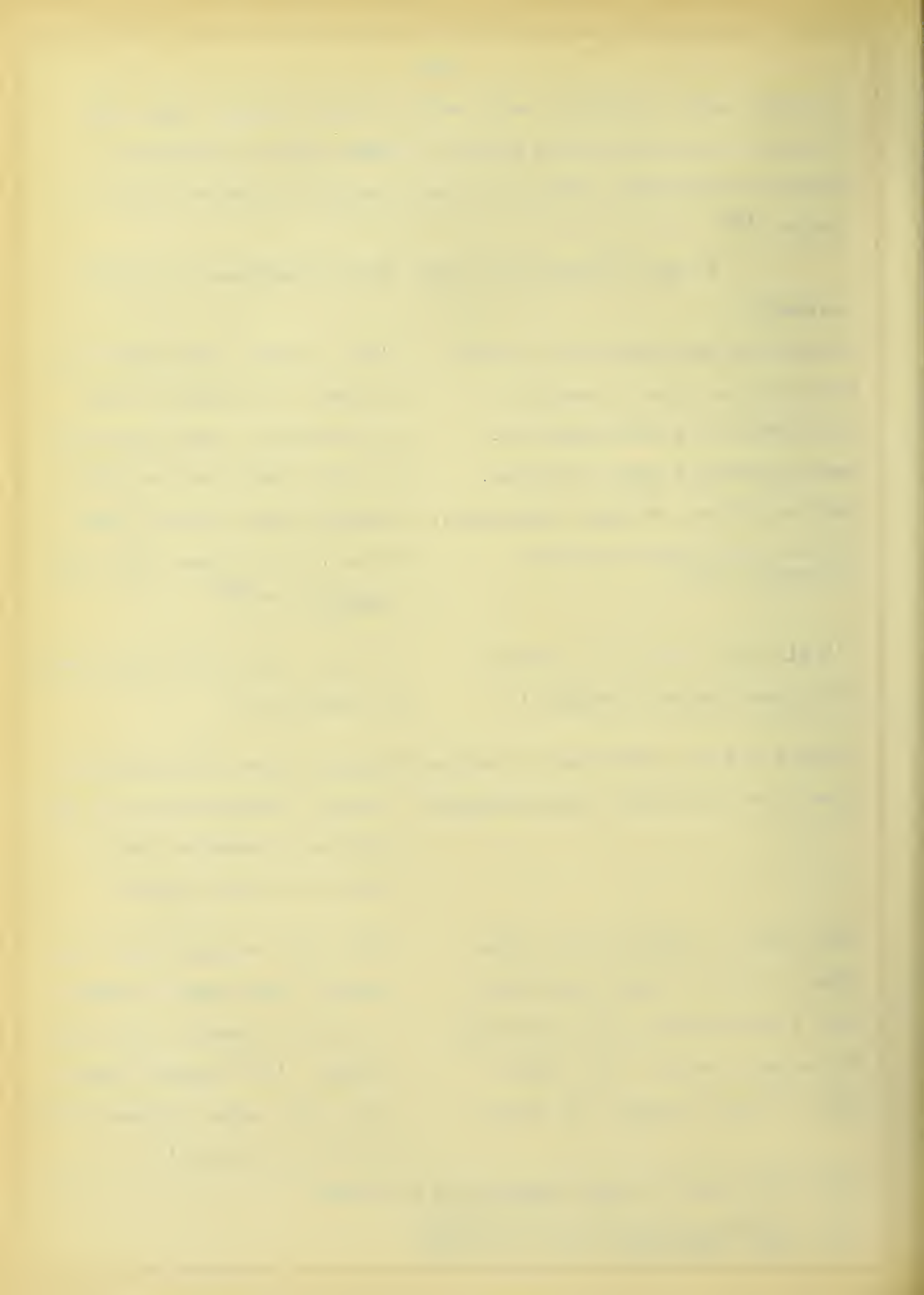
"And began to speak in this wise;
'When I blow my breath about me,
When I breathe upon the landscape,
Motionless are all the rivers,
Hard as stone becomes the water.'"

"When this ceremony was con-
cluded, they began to speak.
'I blow my breath', said the
old man, 'and streams stand
still. The water becomes stiff
and hard as stone.'"

150. Schoolcraft's Algic Researches I, 84-85.

151. Hiawatha, Canto XXI. Lines 25-32.

152. Algic Researches, Vol. I. P. 8.



"And the young man answered smiling, "'I breathe', said the young man
 'When I blow my breath about me, 'and the flowers spring up all
 When I breathe upon the landscape, over the plains.'"
 Flowers spring all over the meadows,
 Singing, onward rush the rivers."

"'When I shake my hoary tresses', "'I shake my locks', retorted
 Said the old man darkly frowning, the old man, 'and snow covers
 'All the land, with snow is covered; the land. The leaves fall from
 All the leaves fall from the branches, the trees at my command, and
 Fall and fade and die and wither, my breath blows them away. The
 For I breathe and lo! they are not.'" birds get up from the water,
 and fly to a distant land."

"'When I shake my flowing ringlets', "'I shake my ringlets', rejoined
 Said the young man, softly laughing, ed the young man', and warm
 'Showers of rain fall warm and welcome, showers of rain fall upon
 Plants lift up their heads rejoicing the earth. The plants lift up
 ing.'" ¹⁵³ their heads out of the earth. ¹⁵²

From these extracts we can readily see the intimate relation between the poem and its sources. In some instances the parallel is so close that the passages are almost identical, not only in meaning, but even in the wording. But this marked resemblance is not so apparent in the last Canto. Here we have Hiawatha's departure for the "land of light and morning". In an earlier Canto we learned about Minnehaha's death and her husband's sorrow over her departure. Life seems to hold no more joys for him. At least, he appears rather

152. Algic Researches, Vol. I. P. 85.

153. These passages found in Canto XXI.

anxious to go on his last journey, after he has welcomed the "Black-Robe-Chief, the Pale-face". Shortly after the priest has given his message to the tribes, Hiawatha bades farewell to his friends and loved ones, steps into his boat and sails forth "into the dusk of evening".

Part of this incident, that of his going down to the shore and sailing away in his mythical noat, comes from the History of the Indian Tribes, Volume III, Page 317, where Schoolcraft relates, "At its (of the speech) conclusion, he went down to the shore, and assumed his seat in the mythical vessel. Sweet music was heard in the air at the same moment, and as its cadence floated in the ears of the wondering multitude, it rose in the air higher and higher, till it vanished from sight, and disappeared from the celestial regions inhabited only by Owayneo and his boats."¹⁵⁴

This Canto has been influenced, I think by the last Rune in the Kalevala, where we see Wäinämöinen takes his departure from this earth after the Christ-child has come into the world to say to him,

"O, thou ancient Wäinämöinen,
Son of Folly and Injustice,
Senseless here of the Northland,
Falsely hast thou rendered judgment.
In thy years for greater follies,
Greater sins and misdemeanors,
Thou wert not unjustly punished.
In thy former years of trouble,
When thou gavest thine own brother,

154. Schoolcraft's History of the Indian Tribes, Vol.III, P. 317.

For thy selfish life a ransom,
Thus to save thee from destruction,
Then thou wert not sent to Swamp-land
To be murdered for thy follies.
In thy former years of sorrow,
When the beauteous Aine perished
In the deep and boundless blue-sea,
To escape thy persecutions,
Then thou wert not evil-treated,
Wert not banished by thy people."¹⁵⁵

Porter, in commenting on this point under discussion, errs somewhat when he says, "After number less magical adventures, Wäinämöinen, the benefactor and teacher of the people, and the noblest representative of Heathenism, takes his departure at the birth of the Christ-child, whom he baptizes."¹⁵⁶ Wäinämöinen does not baptize the Child at all. Old Wirekannas, the priest, "touched the child with holy water." Otherwise, Porter's assertion coincides with mine, for "both departed in a like manner, sailed away far over the blue waves, and disappeared from the eyes of the spectators, in the horizon, there hanging midway between heaven and earth."¹⁵⁷ A few extracts will show this close resemblance.

In the Kalevala we read:

"As the years passed Wäinämöinen
Recognized his waning powers,
Sang his farewell song to Northland,
To the people of Wainola;

155. Crawford's Kalevala, Rune 50, P. 731.

156. Porter, Kalevala-Hiawatha, P.6

157. Porter, Kalevala-Hiawatha, P.7.



Sang himself a boat of copper,
Beautiful his bark of magic;
At the helm sat the magician,
Sat the ancient wisdom-singer.
Westward, westward, sailed the hero
O'er the blue-back of the waters,
Singing as he left Wainola."¹⁵⁸

In Hiawatha we find the poet singing:

"And the evening sun descending
Set the clouds on fire with redness,
Burned the broad sky, like a prairie,
Left upon the level water
One long track and trail of splendor,
Down whose stream, as down a river,
Westward, westward Hiawatha
Sailed into the fiery sunset,
Sailed into the purple vapors,
Sailed into the dusk of evening."

Another extract from each poem shows this parallel:

"Thus the ancient Wäinämöinen,
In his copper-banded vessel,
Left his tribe in Kalevala,
Sailing o'er the rolling billows,
Sailing through the azure vapors,
Sailing through the dusk of evening,
Sailing to the fiery sunset,

158. Crawford's Kalevala, Rune 50, P.731.



To the higher-landed regions,
To the lower verge of heaven."¹⁵⁹
"Thus departed Hiawatha,
Hiawatha the beloved,
In the glory of the sunset,
In the purple mists of evening,
To the regions of the home-wind,
Of the Northwest wind, Keewaydin,
To the Islands of the Blessed,
To the Kingdom of Ponemah,
To the land of the hereafter."

159. Crawford's Kalevala, Rune 50, P. 732.



Conclusion.

In my paper thus far I have attempted to account for all of the narratives Longfellow has used in his Hiawatha. Perhaps to some of my readers the parallels suggested may seem conjectural and questionable. Yet I think that, for the most part at least, the sources mentioned are based on sufficient grounds to warrant us in making some very definite conclusions.

In the first place, Longfellow has told us in his Journal that he was familiar with the Kalevala, had read it with pleasure, that he had gone over the legends and myths in the works of Schoolcraft, Heckewelder, Tanner, and other Indian authorities. In his notes to the poem the poet states rather definitely: "This Indian Edda is founded on a tradition, prevalent among the North American Indians, of a personage of miraculous birth, who was sent among them to clear their river, forests, and fishing-grounds, and to teach them the arts of peace. Into this old tradition I have woven other curious Indian legends, drawn chiefly from the various and valuable writings of Mr. Schoolcraft."¹⁶⁰

Alice Longfellow throws a little light on our problem when she says, in a prefatory remark to the Song of Hiawatha in the Riverside Edition, 1907, "When the idea of writing an Indian poem first began to take form in Mr. Longfellow's mind, he followed the adventures of Manbozho (a mythical character, whose exploits figure largely in all the Ojibway legends) and gave his name to the poem; but feeling the need of some expression of the finer and nobler side of the Indian nature, he blended the

160. Longfellow's Poems, Riverside Edition, Boston, 1907, P. 158.

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It also outlines the methodology used in the study and the results obtained. The second part of the paper discusses the implications of the study and the conclusions drawn from the research. It also outlines the limitations of the study and the areas for further research. The third part of the paper discusses the significance of the study and the contributions it makes to the field. It also outlines the practical applications of the study and the policy implications of the research. The fourth part of the paper discusses the future of the study and the potential for further research. It also outlines the challenges facing the study and the opportunities for future research. The fifth part of the paper discusses the role of the study in the broader context of the field and the importance of the research. It also outlines the impact of the study on the field and the potential for future research. The sixth part of the paper discusses the role of the study in the broader context of the field and the importance of the research. It also outlines the impact of the study on the field and the potential for future research. The seventh part of the paper discusses the role of the study in the broader context of the field and the importance of the research. It also outlines the impact of the study on the field and the potential for future research. The eighth part of the paper discusses the role of the study in the broader context of the field and the importance of the research. It also outlines the impact of the study on the field and the potential for future research. The ninth part of the paper discusses the role of the study in the broader context of the field and the importance of the research. It also outlines the impact of the study on the field and the potential for future research. The tenth part of the paper discusses the role of the study in the broader context of the field and the importance of the research. It also outlines the impact of the study on the field and the potential for future research.

supernatural deeds of the crafty spirit with the wise, noble spirit of the Iroquois national hero, and formed the character of Hiawatha."¹⁶¹

From my observation, then, I am led to believe that the major part of the sources of Hiawatha is based on Schoolcraft's works, particularly the Algic Researches and the History, Condition, & Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the U.S. (Most of the Indian legends and myths mentioned in the other works of Schoolcraft appear in these two works). Longfellow's indebtedness to the Kalevala, outside of the metrical source, of which I shall speak later, is restricted to the following incidents: (1) the suggestion for his Introduction as seen in the Proem. (2) Longfellow's Sailing somewhat akin to Wäinämöinen's Boat-Building. (3) The evil effects of Megissogwon over his people much like blind Lowyatar's casting the Nine Diseases over her people. (4) Nokomis's endeavors to secure a wife for Hiawatha similar to pleadings of Lemminkainen's mother. (5) Parts of Hiawatha's Wedding a parallel to Ilmarinen's wooing and Wedding. (6) The Sweet Singing of Chibiabos finds a close resemblance to the Singing and Playing of Wäinämöinen. (7) Then part of Hiawatha's Departure is much like the Sailing of Wäinämöinen for "the higher-landed regions".

According to the evidence given in this paper, Longfellow is indebted very little to Heckewelder. The reference to "Hark you, Bear! you are a coward", very likely was the result of an account Heckewelder made in his "History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations".

161. Alice M. Longfellow, Hiawatha Riverside Edition, Boston, 1907.



Undoubtedly Catlin, in his Letters, Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians, gave the poet his suggestion of the Peace-Pipe. But, after all has been said, Longfellow has based his Hiawatha largely on the narratives recorded by Schoolcraft.

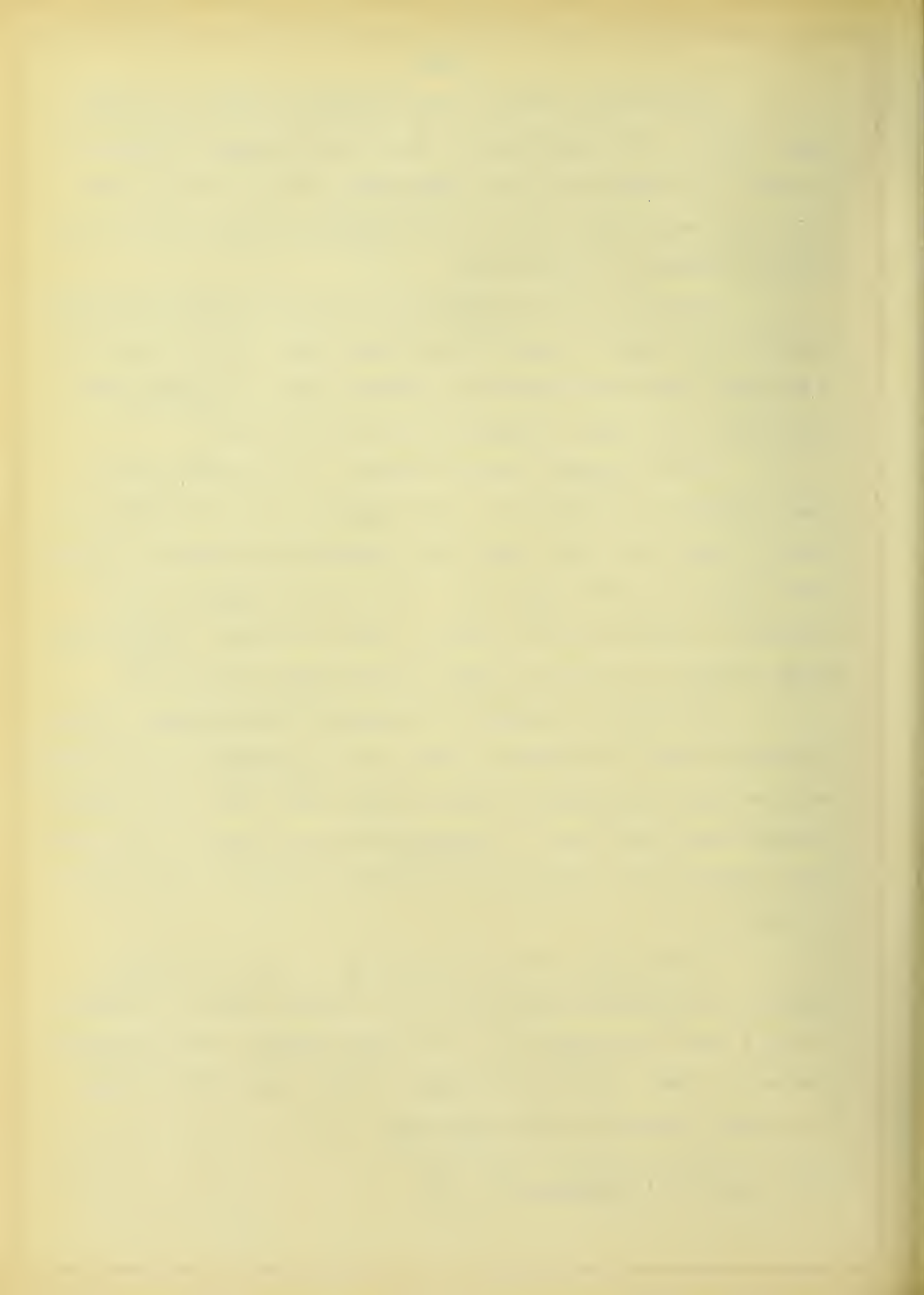
Thus far I have endeavored to point the works which the poet may have used to compose his Indian Edda. Before I conclude this paper I wish to discuss the metrical form of Hiawatha and try to show what model Longfellow used for his poem.

In his Journal the poet writes, "I am reading with great delight the Finnish Epic, the Kalevala. It is charming. I have at length hit upon a plan for a poem on the American Indiana, which seems to me the right one. It is weave together their beautiful traditions into a whole. I have hit upon a measure, too, which I think the right and only one for such a theme."¹⁶²

In order to understand thoroughly the statement, Longfellow patterned his metrical form on the Kalevala, we should know what are the distinguishing marks of this epic. Then, by comparing this metre with that of Hiawatha, we may be able to point out more definitely the influence the Finnish poem had on the American Edda.

In the first place, parallelism is one of the most marked characteristic qualities of the Finnish poetry. By parallelism I mean the repetition of the same thought, differently expressed, in two, sometimes in three or four, succeeding lines. For example, we read in the Kalevala:

162. Longfellow's Journal, II, 273.



"Wäinämöinen, old and truthful,
He, the everlasting wizard,
At his boat began to labor,
Toiling o'er the unbuilt vessel,
On the mist-enshrouded headland,
On the forest-covered island,
Wood was needed by the builder,
Boards to form the boat were needed."¹⁶³

This repetition occurs continually throughout the Runes. Nearly every page shows this fanciful arrangement of words and ideas. Such a passage as the following is exceedingly common:

"Then the blacksmith, Ilmarinen,
The eternal forger-artist,
Laid the metals in the furnace,
In the fire laid steel and iron,
In the hot-coals, gold and silver,
Rightful measure of the metals;
Set the workmen at the furnace,
Lustily they plied the bellows.
Like the wax the iron melted,
Like the dough the hard steel softened,
Like the water ran the silver,
And the liquid gold flowed after."¹⁶⁴

A curious feature of this repetition, and this applies to all Finnish poetry, is that all the lines are trochaic, that is, the accent is always on the first syllable. Mr. Crawford, in his Preface to his translation of the Kalevala, says, "The metre
^{163.} Quoted by Porter, Kalevala-Hiawatha, P.4

^{164.} Crawford's Translation of the Kalevala, Rune 39, P. 583.



of the Kalevala is the eight-syllabled trochaic, with the part-line echo, and is the characteristic verse of the Finns. The natural speech of this people is poetry. The young men and maidens, the old men and women, in their interchange of ideas, unwittingly fall into verse. The genius of their language aids to this and, inasmuch as their words are strongly trochaic."¹⁶⁵

There is yet another marked quality of the Finnish metre. The poetry is highly alliterative. This characteristic feature is not so noticeable in the translation of the Kalevala, especially, not in Crawford's edition. Even in the Finnish epic there are marked traces of this alliteration. In the following passages I shall quote several extracts to illustrate these features of the Finnish poetry, that of parallelism and alliteration. The first is one taken from the first edition in Finnish.

"Louhi Pohjolan emanta

Sanan Wirkko, noin minesi:

'Niin mita minulle annat,

Kun saatan emille maille,

Oman pellon pientarelle,

Oman pihan rikkasille?'

Sana wanha Wäinämöinen:

'Mitapa kysyt minulta,

Kun saatat emille maille,

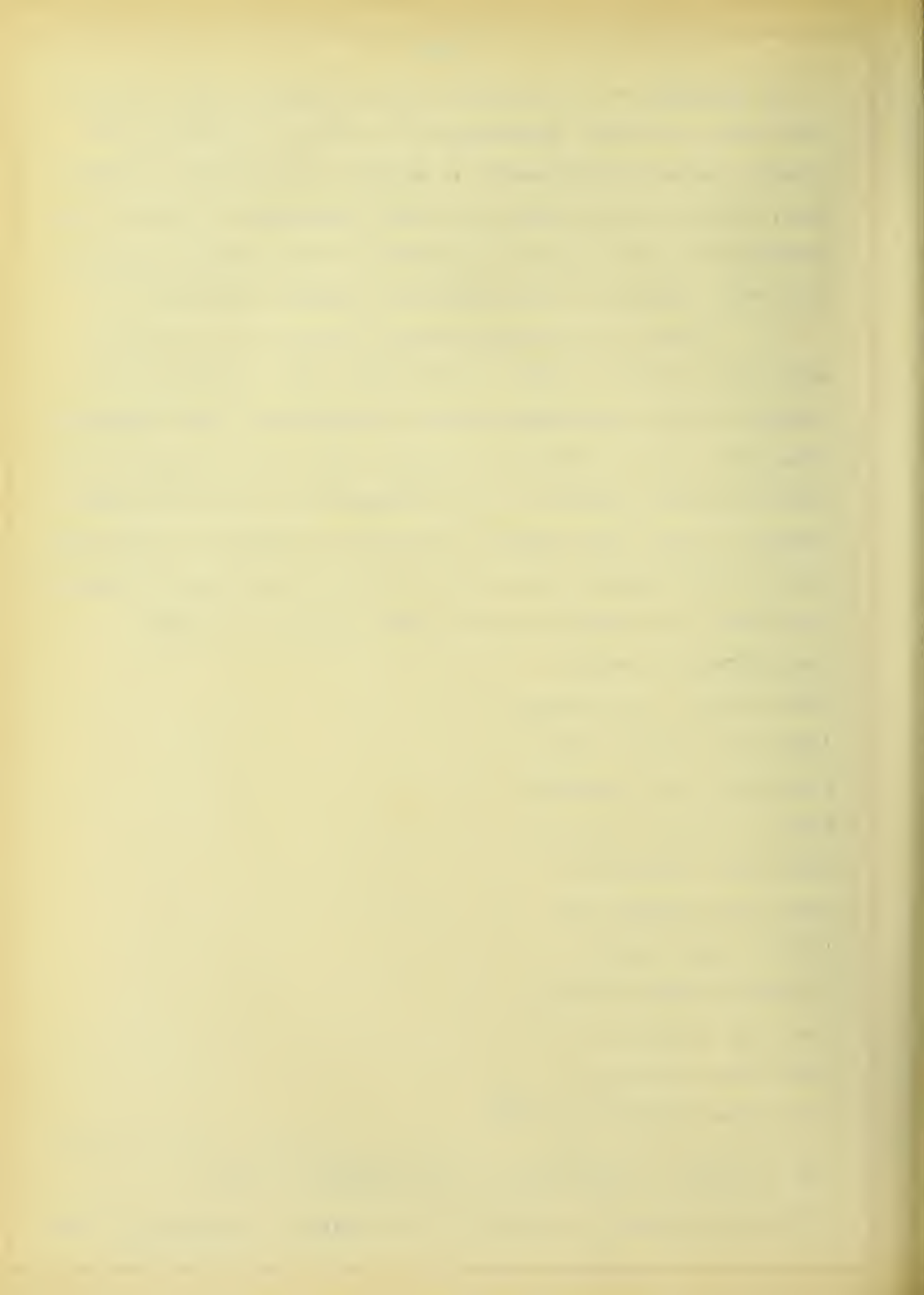
Oman kaen kukkumille,

Oman kukon kuuluwille,

Oman saunan lampimille?"¹⁶⁶

165. Preface to Translation of the Kalevala, P. XLV.

166. Passage quoted by Crawford in his Preface to Kalevala, P. XLVI.



The following passage comes from Schiefner's translation: "Goldner Freund, mein lieber Bruder,
Teurer, der mit mir gewachsen!
Komme jetzt mit mir zu singen,
Komme um mit mir zu sprechen,
Da wir nun zusammentraten,
Von verschiedenen Seiten kamen;
Selten kommen wir zusammen,
Kommt der eine zu dem andern
In den armen Ländstrecken,
Auf des Nordens armen Beden."¹⁶⁷

Crawford renders a part of the "Birth of the Harp" thus,
"Straightway ancient Wainämöinen,
Miracle of Strength and Wisdom,
Draws his fire-sword from his girdle,
Wields the mighty blade of magic,
Strikes the pike beneath the vessel,
And impales the mighty monster;
Raises him above the surface,
In the air the pike he circles,
Cuts the monster into pieces;
To the water falls the pike-tail,
To the ship the head and body;
Easily the ship moves onward."¹⁶⁸

I have gone into detail about the metre of Kalevala because so many critics held that the author of Hiawatha had

167. Schiefner's Translation of Kalevala, Rune 1, P.3.

168. Crawford's Kalevala, Rune 40, Pp. 598-599.



patterned his poem on the Romance ballads, the metre of which had often been used by Calderon and Lope de Vega. D. F. McCarthy had introduced this form of verse into English in 1845, in his translation of the dramas of Calderon. Dr. Nealy had also employed this metre in Goethe: A New Pantomime. Eric S. Robertson, one of Longfellow's biographers, in commenting on the metrical form used by our poet, says, "These men (meaning, McCarthy and Nealy) did not in any way adequately reproduce the old form of the Spanish ballads, which displayed assonance in place of the northern alliteration, and although an equivalent of the form used by Calderon, the metre used by Kenealy and McCarthy lacked the distinguishing features of the Finnish poetry - that mark of which Longfellow made such excellent use, the mark, namely, parallelism!"¹⁶⁹

Incidentally, it may be interesting to note some passages by McCarthy and Kenealy. From these extracts we may see the essential difference between these passages and the Finnish metre, this difference being the absence, to any marked degree, the highly-alliterative style of the Kalevala and the parallelism of that poem. It seems to me that assonance has taken the place of the other characteristics. The first selection comes from the An Italian Palace by Moonlight.

"See that palace rising grandly,
Marble-columned, with its fountains,
Shooting up in rainbow showerings,
Vines are clustered round the trellis,
Grapes as rich as Hebe's bosom,
Courting the delighted pressure,

169. Eric S. Robertson, H. W. Longfellow, P. 143.

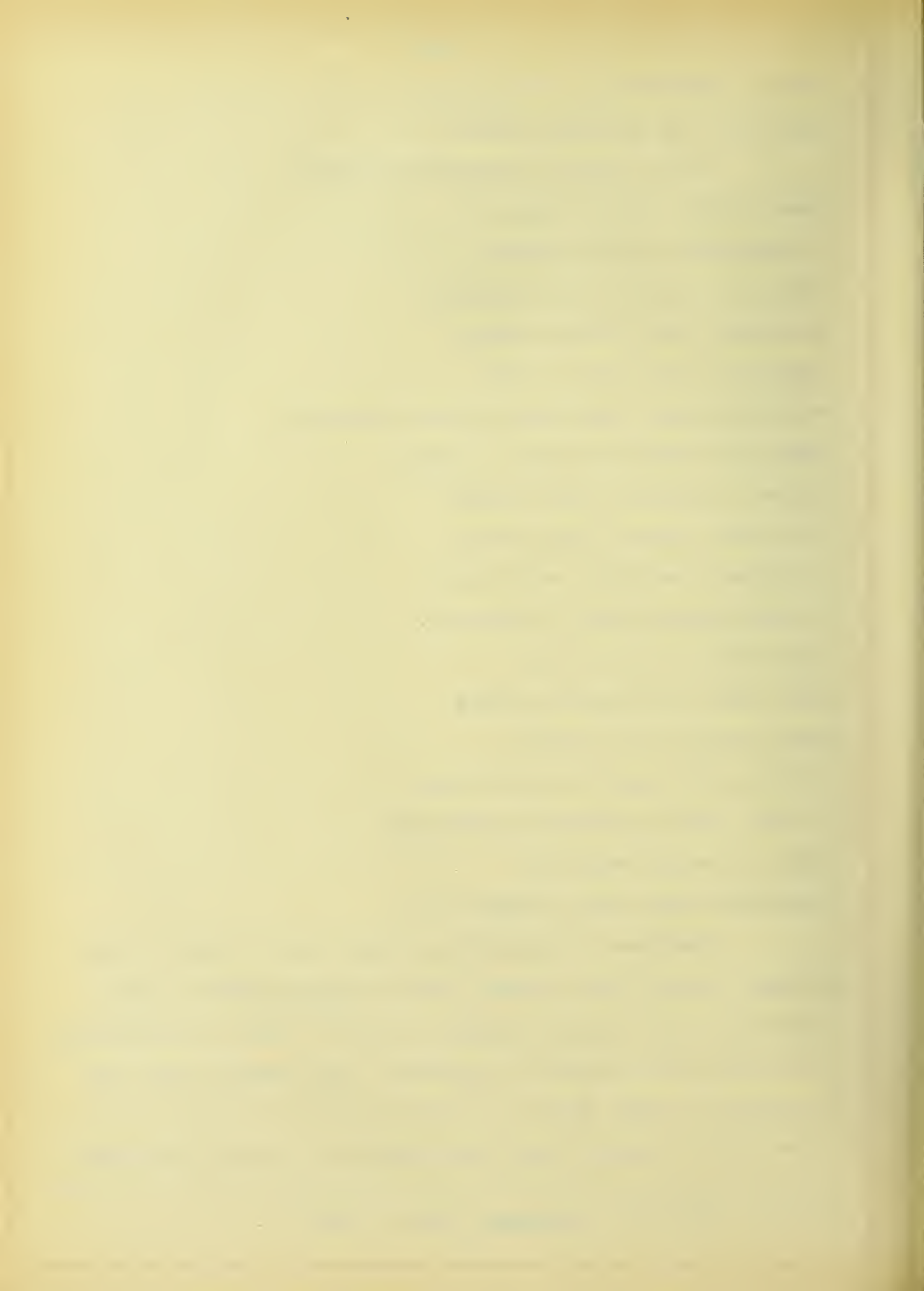


And the winged train of Pleasures,
Dance amid its thornless roses."

In "A Vision of Paradise" we read,
"Here within a wood I found me
So delightful and so fertile,
That the forest was all forgotten,
On my path rose stately cedars,
Laurels-all the trees of Eden,
While the ground, with rose-leaves scattered,
Spread its white and verdant carpet,
Tender birds in all the branches
Told their amorous complainings
To the many murmuring streamlets,
To the thousand crystal fountains.
Then I saw a stately city,
Which amid the heavens uplifted
Many pinnacles and turrets;
Precious gold composed its portals,
All with flashing diamonds garnished,
Topaz, emerald , and ruby
Intermixed their varied lustre."¹⁷⁰

Ferdinand Freiligrath has done much to clear up this mistaken view of the metrical form of Hiawatha when he says, "Apart from all internal evidence, which of itself is sufficient to put the matter beyond all question, I may mention that, in the summer of 1842, when Mr. Longfellow was on the Rhine, we often amused ourselves with the attractive metre and the quaint

170. D.F. McCarthy, Athenaeum, 1888, P. 1370.



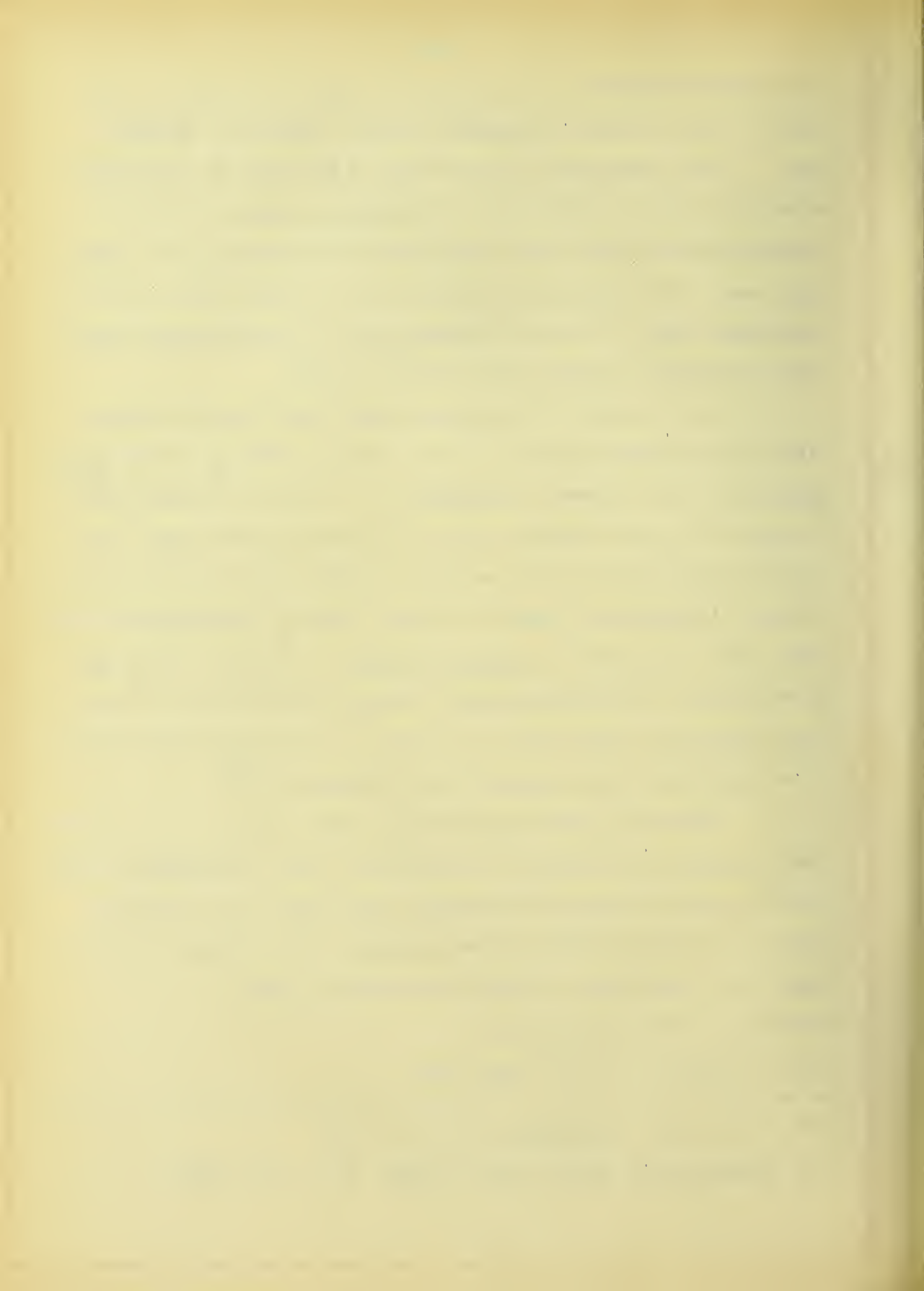
and uncouth subjects of the songs of Finland. We read at that time Dr. Von Schröter's Finnische Runes: Finnisch & Deutsch, 1834, a most instructive little book, which made my countrymen acquainted with the folk-lore and national poetry of Finland - eighteen years before Herr Schiefner's Translation of the Kalevala, made that acquaintance still more intimate. Only Goethe's Finnisches Lied and Platen's Translation of Wainamoinen's Harp, from the Swedish version had preceded it."¹⁷¹

In a letter to the poet himself Freiligrath writes, "Are you not chuckling over the war which is waging in the Athenaeum about the measure of Hiawatha? Of course, William Hewitt is right; and your trochaic metre is taken from the Finns, not from the Spaniard. The very moment I looked into the book I exclaimed, 'Launawater, Frau die alter', and was laughing with you again over the pages of Finnische Runen, as thirteen years ago on the Rhine. The characteristic feature, which shows that you have fetched the metre from the Finns, is the parallelism adopted so skilfully and so gracefully in Hiawatha."¹⁷²

From the prevailing opinion, then, we are led to think that Longfellow has adopted the metrical form of Kalevala, using more the parallelism of the Finnish runes than the artificial form or the alliteration. A few passages will suffice to illustrate this assertion. In the third Canto we read,
"Hidden in the alder-bushes,
There he waited till the deer came,

171. Freiligrath, Athenaeum, 1888, P. 1534.

172. Longfellow's Journal and Letters, Vol. II. P. 298.



Till he saw two antlers lifted,
Saw two nostrils point to windward,
And a deer came down the pathway,
Flecked with leafy light and shadow.
And his heart within him fluttered,
Trembled like the leaves above him,
Like the birch-leaf palpitated,
As the deer came down the pathway."¹⁷³

The following passage is one of the most pronounced instances of alliteration.

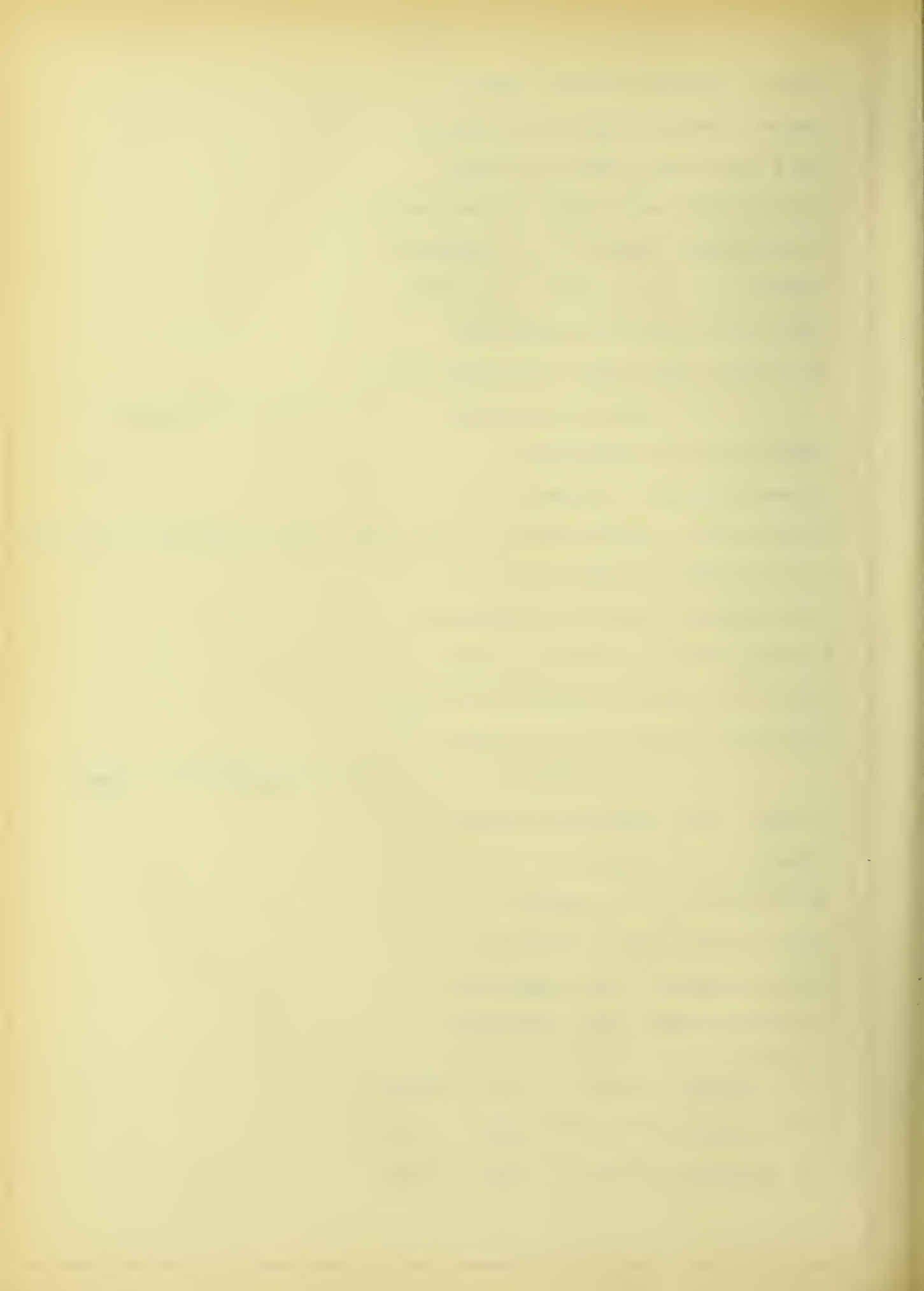
"Homeward hurried Hiawatha,
Empty-handed, heavy-hearted."¹⁷⁴ The same note is seen in this one:
"I have given you bear and bison,
I have given you roe and reindeer,
I have given you brant and beaver,
Filled the marshes full of wild-fowl,
Filled the rivers full of fishes."¹⁷⁵

In this extract we find a strong suggestion of parallelism: "Thus departed Hiawatha,
Hiawatha the Beloved,
In the glory of the sunset,
In the purple mists of evening,
In the regions of the home-wind,
Of the Northwest wind, Keewaydin,

173. Hiawatha, Canto 3, Lines 200-209.

174. Hiawatha, Canto 20, Lines 120-121.

175. Hiawatha, Canto 1, Lines 101-105.



To the Islands of the Blessed,
To the kingdom of Ponemah,
To the land of the Hereafter."¹⁷⁶

In conclusion, I quote what Freiligrath says about the metre of Hiawatha. For the Athenaeum, November 1855, he writes, "Mr. Longfellow has not adopted the artificial form of alliteration, strange and antiquated as it may sound to our modern ears. In this particular it must be conceded that the measure of Hiawatha does not follow the Finnish prototype. What Longfellow has adopted, and used with a skill and success - marked in every page of the poem, is the parallelism of the Finnish runes. It is written in a modified Finnish metre, modified by the exquisite feeling of the American poet, according to the genius of the English language, and to the wants of modern taste."¹⁷⁷

176. Hiawatha, Canto 22, Lines 239-247.

177. Ferdinand Freiligrath in Athenaeum, Nov. 1855, P. 1534.



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